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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION AND YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT IN ZIMBABWE, 1979 - 1990

BY

ⓒ

CELANI CHIRIGO MTETWA

A THESIS

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURUAL EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1991

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SUBMITTED BY: **CELANI CHIRIGO MTETWA**

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY** IN **INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION**

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DEDICATION

This thesis is affectionately dedicated to my parents, without whose unwavering support this would never have been written.

I am indebted to my late father, Tafireyi S. V. Chirigo, for his loving devotion to me and his constant encouragement for the furthering of my education. Even when he knew he may not be living when I returned to Zimbabwe, he still insisted I leave my country, instilling in me the confidence to complete my higher education and reminding me of the absolute importance of this task.

To my mother, Idah M. Chirigo, I express my deep appreciation for her perpetual support and inspiration, and especially for believing in me.

To them both is given the heart-felt thanks for the firmest of foundations in life - sincere love.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the educational expansion and youth unemployment in Zimbabwe. The advent of independence after prolonged colonial domination brought a vast expansion in the educational system paralleling a shift from an elite system of education to one of mass education. Educational expansion was seen as a device for bringing forth a more egalitarian society and also for expanding and modernizing the economy.

The study shows that the expansion of education has led to rising expectations which, for many, have not been met. Zimbabwe faces an unemployment crisis, especially as far as Form IV school leavers are concerned. In other words, central to the unemployment problem is the potential conflict arising out of a rapidly growing number of school leavers on the one hand, and on the other, the limited opportunities for a sufficient level of employment for this segment of the labour force. The study has noted that whenever the demand for jobs exceeds the supply, employers tend to pick the most highly qualified applicants and leave out the school leavers, thus, making the problem of youth unemployment even worse. The study also reveals that the economy is not expanding fast enough to absorb everyone who is looking for work.

Another of the central components of the school leaver problem is the so-called "white-collar syndrome" fostered by an educational establishment which makes young school leavers set their sights on the limited number of modern sector jobs available

and causes them to reject agricultural or manual work.

The rationale behind this type of thinking is that unemployment in this case is due to an educational system which turns out inappropriately trained labour, that is, labour which is academically geared. The possible solution to this type of problem appears to lie in a reform of the educational system by promoting vocational and practically oriented training. However, it is doubtful from the research findings whether these reforms will succeed in having an impact on the school leaver problem, and in particular, whether they will succeed in halting the pressure for expanding secondary education, ignoring as they do, the earnings that regularly accrue to persons with advanced levels of schooling.

However, the findings in this study confirm Emmerji's (1972) argument that educational expansion is not responsible for the problem of overall imbalance (that is, between labour supply and demand) and changes in the educational system will not in any way change the number of job opportunities. However, education is definitely responsible for one of the problems of structural imbalance, that of matching employment opportunities and expectations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the members of my supervisory committee, Drs. K. M. Bacchus, A.M. Decore, R. S. Pannu and Al MacKay for their interest, encouragement and effort which have contributed to the completion of this thesis. My sincere thanks to Dr. Paula Brook for serving on my committee. A special debt of gratitude is extended to my thesis co-supervisors, Drs. Kazim Bacchus and Anne-Marie Decore. Their guidance and inspiration motivated me to work diligently even when it was least conducive. I am also indebted to them for their patience and readiness to help at all times. Their enlightening comments and suggestions have contributed immensely to the success of this study. My appreciation and gratitude are also extended to the External Examiner, Dr. Ratna Gosh of McGill University.

The completion of this study alone cannot adequately compensate those whose love, sacrifice and support have fortified me during its execution. I am grateful to my husband, Daniel for his contribution and support for my educational pursuits, and my children Star and Sindiso for their patience and understanding.

The financial support provided by CIDA and Commonwealth is gratefully acknowledged. The generosity of the University of Alberta (Department of Educational Foundations) for the financial assistance when I was not on scholarship is greatly appreciated.

A tremendous debt of gratitude is owed to Terry Mantyka who has remained surprisingly cheerful during the typing and retyping

of the thesis. Without her help, undying patience and understanding, the thesis would have been much delayed.

Finally, I wish to express my deepest appreciation to all the members of the Department of Educational Foundations for their help and ready smiles. To my mother, sisters, and brothers, I say, "Thank you for your unfailing support and understanding and encouragement during my stay abroad."

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CHAPTER I

EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE

A. OVERVIEW AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1. Introduction

> Only when we are clear about the kind of society we are trying to build can we design our educational system to serve our goals (Julius Nyerere, 1968).

From the time that European powers established colonies in Africa towards the end of the nineteenth century to the present, Africans have encountered formidable difficulties in their search for education. Fearing that education would enable the Africans to threaten the colonial domination, the European colonial governments deliberately created a myth of limited intellectual potential and inferior academic ability among Africans. Eventually, however, the colonial system designed educational programs that sought to preserve these myths as a justification for their denial of an equal educational opportunity to the Africans. In other words, under colonial rule, educational opportunities were denied to Africans and this was an important way of keeping them out of the job market and making them unable to compete for local jobs with the colonizers. Also, in an attempt to legitimize this practice (denial of equal educational opportunity), the myth of the limited intellectual potential of the Africans became commonplace.

Again, this lack of opportunity among Africans for competing for higher paying jobs through their lack of education resulted in substantially high income levels for the Europeans who occupied positions requiring secondary and higher education. This could be one of the reasons why the colonial systems lasted for almost a century in Africa.

However, at independence, the new governments of Africa have taken it as a matter of priority to promote the notions of egalitarianism and mass education. Simmons (1980) confirms this trend of events when he argues that the expansion of investment in formal education has been phenomenal in the last two decades, and only in a few developing countries are there signs that the rate of expansion may be diminishing. He goes on to say that education has been the only sector to meet or exceed planned investment targets. Demand for education has been fueled by initial manpower needs and by parental demand for more years of schooling for their children as a means of access to the better paying jobs. An additional development was the growing conviction by the state authorities that education is a human right for all citizens.

2. General Statement of the Problem

In the post independence period, Zimbabwe, like most less economically developed societies, has been characterized by rapid educational growth juxtaposed with limited employment generation. After attaining independence in April, 1980, one of the first obligations facing the new government was to fulfil its election promises by expanding access to education for all. The second task was to abolish the dual system of education which was based on racial differences in the population and create one which would cater to the new country's economic and developmental goals and which was equally open to all. The third challenge was to accelerate the training of skilled manpower to man the more sophisticated sector of the economy dominated by whites at independence (Zimbabwe Ministry of Education, 1990).

To achieve these goals, the government adopted an education policy based on the concepts of reconciliation, social transformation and growth with equity. These three concepts were clearly articulated in the government's "The Three Year National Transitional Development Plan" which stated the government's intention in education as follows:

- To provide education for all at all levels including non-formal education and the eradication of illiteracy.
- To transform and develop the curriculum to make it more relevant to Zimbabwe's cultural, social and economic needs.
- To improve the quality of teaching and learning.
- To maintain the cost of education at a level the country can afford and obtain maximum efficiency and benefits from investments.

The above commitment to educational expansion was reiterated in the 1985 Election Manifesto and it is therefore quite clear that post independence educational development in Zimbabwe was a result of government's commitment to education and its recognition of the importance of education as a tool for social transformation and national development.

The high priority accorded to educational expansion in Zimbabwe has produced some significant unplanned effects, among which are high rates of youth unemployment. Employment opportunities have grown modestly since independence, especially in relation to the number of job seekers in the country. Despite a sustained rate of economic growth, generation of employment has proceeded slowly, especially in the modern sector, to absorb the thousands of young job seekers who leave school each year.

This basic tension between rapid educational growth and limited employment generation has created a situation conducive to credential escalation and declining prospects of school leavers over time. It is estimated that out of a total of 234,000 unemployed persons, 34% were those with 'O' level certificates (four years of secondary education) and they numbered about 81,000. Roughly, 90% of these are youths aged 15-24 years.

It is within this context that this study will seek to examine the extent to which educational expansion and lack of sufficient growth in the economy are related to youth unemployment.

3. Outline of the Study

The first chapter deals with the overview and purpose of the study, as well as the statement of the problem. It looks at the background to the problem of which covers the colonial legacy of inequality in education. Educational development and reform to include educational expansion at both primary and secondary levels is also examined.

Chapter two deals with the review of related literature. Such theories of development as the Human Capital Approach and Dependency are covered. The Human Capital Approach has been important as a theoretical framework in this study because it has greatly influenced the perceptions of governments and individuals towards education and socio-economic mobility which have in turn affected their decisions for increased educational decisions for increased educational participation. Notwithstanding its many and varied critiques, the theory has influenced educators and politicians as reflected in the significant changes in educational policies over the years.

Radical and neo-Marxist (Dependency) theories are also covered in the study to show some of the weaknesses of the Human Capital Approach. The dependency theory views foreign penetration into the political and economic structure of the Third World as a conditioning factor and implies that development can occur only if both internal structures and Third World relations with the developed countries of the west undergo a complete change.

The method of data collection used in this study is based on secondary analysis of available information. This is covered in chapter three.

Chapter four examines research findings and discussions as they are related to the study. The chapter attempts to include such issues as the school leaver explosion, the growth of the labour market to see if it is sufficient to absorb the large numbers of secondary school leavers who are seeking employment. Historical development of labour supplies in Zimbabwe is also covered since it sets the scene for the examination of unemployment after independence. The labour force survey which was, for the first time ever, carried out in Zimbabwe in 1986-1987 by the Central Statistical Office is examined and it is a very important section of the chapter since it shows the size of the labour force and examines the employment and unemployment situation in Zimbabwe. The main focus of the study (Youth Unemployment) is critically examined. It also makes a distinction between male, and female and age, urban and communal employment and unemployment. Most importantly, education and unemployment is examined.

Chapter five deals with the idea of vocationalizing education as a way to create employment. The Zimbabwe Foundation of Education with Production (ZIMFEP) is examined. Constraints of vocationalizing education are looked at. The quality of education is also examined in order to determine whether or not it has decreased and fails to develop in the students such qualities as critical thinking and entrepreneurial skills to enable them to compete in the labour market.

Chapter six presents the summary, conclusions and possible solutions. These are divided into short term, medium term and long term.

B. BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

In Zimbabwe, as elsewhere in Africa, the advent of independence after prolonged colonial domination brought a vast expansion in the educational system paralleling a policy shift from an elite system of education to one of mass education (Kinyanjui and Court, 1985). The imperative to provide mass education had both an ideological as well as a political rationale. It was not only a response by the newly elected leaders to the popular demand for education from the electorate but was also perceived by them to be the main instrument for creating a more egalitarian society, for expanding and modernizing the economy, and as an essential element in the process of nation building (Tiala and Lanford, 1987). Individual demand for greater provision of education was conditioned by an instrumental perception of the value of education developed during the colonial period in which education was seen to be the only route to salaried employment in the modern sector of the economy, providing security, affluence, prestige, and a modern style of life (Samoff, 1987). The inability of the expanded education system to fulfill the above expectations for all has not significantly diminished the demand for more education.

Strategies for achieving mass education appear to be similar throughout sub-Saharan Africa despite differing political ideologies. The problems that have ensued also bear a remarkable resemblance from country to country.

(a) The Colonial Legacy of Inequality

At independence in 1980, as mentioned earlier, the new elected majority government inherited a legacy of inequality from the colonial era that had encompassed all aspects of life: social, economic, political, and educational. The society was stratified mainly on racial lines, which were the bases for ordering nearly all social relations. Whites, who constituted only 3.5% of the population of 7,500,000, controlled the economic and political structures and enjoyed the highest rewards that flowed from them, while blacks, who constituted the majority, had little control and the lowest rewards.

The segregation of all land into white and black areas dispossessed the blacks of most of the more fertile land and undermined their economic self-sufficiency. This contributed to what Arrighi described as the "pauperization" and the "proletarianization" of the peasant blacks (Arrighi, G., 1970).

Decisions made by white-dominated governments limited and restricted black acquisition of power. Whenever necessary, legislation was enacted that ensured that black development did not pose a serious threat to white development and interests. Thus, continued manipulation of the economic, political, and educational structures was particularly important in maintaining white dominance during the colonial era.

(b) Inequality of Educational Development for Blacks

A segregated system of education developed to serve the racially defined communities. The "European" and "African" education departments, while administered by a single Ministry of Education, nevertheless developed as separate and distinct systems. The differences in the regulations and budgetary provisions for the two systems resulted in restricted provision and a lower quality of education for blacks relative to that provided for whites. The Rhodesian Front government, which took office in 1962, attempted to control an expanding black educational system by instituting a new fiscal policy relating expenditure for black (but not white) education to the economy of the country. The budget for black education was pegged at 2% of the gross national product, and various economic measures were implemented in order to keep government expenditure within the allotted budget. The government spent 12 times more per primary school pupil in the "European" system than in the "African" system and nearly three times more per pupil at the secondary school level (Dorsey, 1975).

The black system produced a broadly based educational pyramid in which students in secondary schools represented only 4% of the students in the system, while in the white system the corresponding figure was 43% Dorsey (1975). Education for whites was compulsory to the age of 15. The white student, on the one hand, proceeded automatically to a comprehensive secondary school level and if sufficiently bright, was assured of going on to the sixth form (advanced high school). The black child, on the other hand, entered a system that was voluntary and highly selective. Whether he/she continued at various levels depended upon his ability to pass examinations with a high mark and his parents' ability to pay his school fees. In 1975, only 54.5% of the grade 1 cohort completed the 7-year primary school course, 9.9% went on to secondary school, 4% completed form 4, and the number in the sixth form qualifying the university entrance was 0.3% (Dorsey, 1981). These figures are similar to Riddel's (1970) earlier estimates, that out of every one thousand African school children, two hundred and fifty never went to school, only three hundred and thirty-seven completed primary school, only sixty proceeded to secondary school, thirty-seven reached 'O' level and less than three reached lower sixth form.

In terms of government administration, the settler (colonial) government always directly administered more white schools than African schools. In 1978, out of 53 white, Asian and coloured secondary schools, the state ran 37 schools. In the African section, however, out of 137 secondary schools, only 29 were government run and out of 166 primary schools, only 35 were state run. African education was largely mission run and was not compulsory. The main constraints on African education were political, that is, the colonial government adopted an education policy that was racially oriented.

The limited provision of secondary education for blacks and its highly selective nature based largely on academic merit produced an educational and social elite. The status of the elites in black society tended to structure their aspirations and expectations in life. Their educational attainment also gave them the potential for competing for the same jobs as their white counterparts (Dorsey, B.J., 1967). In other words, the outcome was the emergence of an African elite with higher incomes due to their level of educational achievement and this helped to fuel African demand for such education.

4. Zimbabwe's Educational Policies

(a) Independence: Educational Development and Reform

When the first black majority government, led by the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU <PF>) party, came to power in 1980, it faced a number of formidable tasks with regard to education. It gave first priority to the reconstruction and reopening of schools that had been closed during the liberation war, which included nearly one-third of the primary and secondary schools in the rural areas, from which considerable numbers of pupils and teachers were displaced. The second priority was to expand the educational system at all levels, but particularly at the secondary school level, to redress the extreme imbalance and inequality that had been inherited from the colonial era.

The party manifesto, in fact, promoted a wide-ranging and all-encompassing educational system that included the establishment of free, compulsory primary and secondary education, expansion of university education, and the establishment of the Zimbabwe Institute of Technology. Emphasis was also placed on the necessity of preschool and adult education. The manifesto maintained that the government would support an educational system of high quality in organization and content and that it would abolish racial education and sex discrimination in the education system. The system would be oriented to national goals and seek to develop in the younger generation non-racist attitudes, a common national identity, and common loyalty (ZANU <PF> Election Manifesto, 1980).

The objectives enunciated in this manifesto, particularly the democratization of education, reflected the party's democratic principles and desire to end the iniquitous system of colonial education. The declarations of the 1980 election manifesto constituted the basis for government policy. The declarations were consistent with the government's declared philosophy of scientific socialism based on Marxist-Leninist principles which the President Robert Mugabe described as the basis of socialist revolution and the advancement of social equality (Zvobgo, R. (ed), 1986). In other words, the primary objective of the government as far as education was concerned was to provide equality of educational opportunity in order to facilitate rapid transformation of society and the economy. The government found it important to implement the educational system that was both revolutionary and ambitious.

It was convinced that nothing short of an educational revolution would produce the kind of changes necessary for effecting a social and economic revolution. Educational reforms were seen as part of the struggle against capitalism, and socialism as the effective tool for dismantling it. Education was thus seen as a major weapon for producing a politically conscious nation, aware of and devoted to the promotion of the welfare of the state (Ibid., p. 334).

(b) Quantitative Development: Educational Expansion, 1980-1986

(i) The Enrollment Expansion

Another element in government policy with regard to educational expansion was based on the premise that education is a fundamental human right as well as being basic to economic growth and the development of a socialist society. The citizens of the country, in supporting and pressing government for educational expansion, also see it as the key to jobs in the modern sector of the economy and therefore to upward mobility and a better standard of living (Abernathy, D., 1969, Foster, P., 1965, and Morrison, D., 1976). Although other countries in Africa experienced rapid expansion of their educational systems at independence, none has attempted universal access to primary and secondary education to the same degree or as rapidly as Zimbabwe has done.

In September 1980, the government announced free primary schooling for all with the result that enrollments soared from 819,586 at independence to 2,263,947, seven years later, indicating an increase of 276%. The government estimates that this represents approximately 97% of children of primary school age in school. Although education at the secondary level is not free, an even greater enrollment explosion has occurred with an enrollment increase from 66,215 in 1979 to 537,427 in 1986, or an increase of 812%. The percentage of grade 7 school-leavers entering form I had risen from 20% in 1979 to 78% in 1986. Projected enrollment figures for the next five years suggest that by 1991 there will be 5,012,000 pupils in primary and secondary schools. These projected figures are based on the assumption that wastage rates will decrease, that there will be a 100% transition to secondary schools with four years of secondary educational for all, and that there will be an annual rate increase of 4% in the age eligible population (Chung, 1983).

(ii) The Expansion of Primary and Secondary Schools

To accommodate the increased enrollment, schools were rapidly built at both primary and secondary levels. The number of primary schools nearly doubled from 2,401 in 1979 to 4,291 in 1986 while secondary schools increased from 177 to 1,276 during the same period (see Table I.1). The established schools were required to increase their enrollments, and government group B schools (lower income and hence more populated schools) instituted double sessioning.

However, the majority of new secondary schools were built in the rural areas as day schools under the management of district councils. Many of these schools began as "upper tops" attached to existing primary schools until their own buildings could be erected. The central government gave specified building grants and per-pupil grants to district councils that, together with the help of local communities, have built and managed the schools. There were and still are a number of problems in the operation and management of the schools. Because of the lack of amenities and poor housing conditions in rural areas, it is difficult to attract trained teachers and many of the schools are staffed largely with primary-trained and untrained teachers. In some areas, according to the Secretary for Education, responsible authorities (district councils) failed to use their per-capita grants judiciously by spending more on administration than on books and stationery, and the quality of learning was adversely affected by the consequential shortage of basic texts (Annual Report of the Secretary for Education, 1984). Although with management training for district councils provided by the Ministry of Education the situation improved in some districts, it was still a cause for concern in some areas, as noted in the Secretary's report for 1984.

Enrollment expanded so rapidly in some areas that pupils arrived before any buildings were constructed, and classes were held in hastily constructed pole and dagga (mud) huts with thatched roofs, and in some cases they were held under the open sky. Pupils in rural "day" secondary schools often come from widely scattered communities and have to make their own arrangements for "boarding," either staying with friends and relatives or frequently using classrooms as dormitories at night and cooking their food over open fires in the traditional manner. In addition to these problems, there has been the difficulty of providing adequate support services and equipment, particularly in science and technical subjects.

However, despite all these problems, the expansion of secondary education to the remotest areas of Zimbabwe is a remarkable achievement and would not have been possible without the enthusiasm of local communities and their cooperation with the Ministry of Education and district councils. In addition to paying building fees, the local people also contributed their labour in the actual building process.

TABLE 1.1 SUMMARY OF GOVERNMENT GROUP A AND GROUP B AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS 1979-1986

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Primary	2,410	3,161	3,698	3,880	3,960	4,161	4,234	4,276
Secondary	177	197	694	738	790	1,182	1,215	1,276
Total	2,587	3,358	4,392	4,618	4,750	5,343	5,449	5,573

SOURCE: Zimbabwe Government, Annual Report of the Secretary for Education 1986 (Harare: Government Printer, 1987), p. 53.

As indicated in Table 1.1, the number of schools increased tremendously due to the expanded enrollments. This expansion also resulted in the need for increased number of school teachers. Unfortunately, the rate of enrollment expansion did not correspond with the trained teacher output from the available Teacher Training Colleges, hence, as discussed below, there was a shortage of trained teachers that led to the introduction of innovations in teacher education.

(iii) The Trained-Teacher Shortage

> (In 1981,) the pool of qualified teaching staff quickly dried up, especially also it all has to cater for expansion in the secondary sector. Faced with the possibility of having no teachers at all, the teaching service was opened to experienced untrained teachers with a basic Standard 6 (Grade 9) qualification (Annual Report of the Secretary for Education, 1983).

Teaching Service was also opened to unqualified persons who had 2-4 years of secondary schooling. In 1986 primary schools were staffed with 46.0% unqualified teachers, while a further 12.4% were student-trainee teachers. The staffing situation in the rapidly expanding secondary school sector was even worse. Graduate-trained secondary school teachers constituted only 10.5% of the teachers in this sector, while 89.5% were primary-trained teachers, non-graduate student-teacher trainees, and untrained teachers.

(iv) Innovation in Teacher Education

The major innovation in teacher education has been the in-service training of teachers in both the secondary and primary school sector using a combination of distance teaching and residential courses. The University of Zimbabwe is the only institution in the country for the training of graduate secondary school teachers. Before independence, the faculty of education offered a 1-year full-time postgraduate certificate in secondary education, which could also be taken part-time over two years for untrained teachers in schools. Thus the faculty already had at independence some experience in the in-service training of teachers. At independence it was decided to discontinue the full-time course due to the urgent need for graduate teachers and to only offer teacher training on a part-time basis over two years to those who had accepted teaching posts in secondary schools throughout the country. The major problem has been the difficulty due to fiscal and manpower constraints, in adequately supervising the student teachers who are widely scattered throughout the country. The number of graduates in this program opting for teaching as a career has not increased since independence, possibly due to the fact that they have been able to command higher salaries in the private business sectors and in the civil service. As positions in these sectors become saturated, it is presumed that teaching as a career may gain more candidates.

The university has also expanded the intake for the bachelor of education degree, which is a 3-year part-time degree for the upgrading of teachers' college graduates to the degree status that enables them to qualify to teach in secondary schools. The two programs produce approximately three hundred graduate secondary school teachers per year, which is less than half the number required to staff the country's secondary schools with graduate teachers teaching in form 4 and above (Chung, 1983).

At the primary teacher training level the main innovation by the government was an experimental crash training program called the Zimbabwe Integrated National Teacher Education Course (ZINTEC). The program involved one term (sixteen weeks) of an intensive residential course. Thereafter the trainees were appointed to primary (and subsequently rural secondary) schools for ten terms (three and one half years) of in-service distance education training. During the fourth year the last term was spent in a final intensive residential course. The program has had its problems, particularly with regard to the supervision of student trainees during their three and one half years of in-service training. Nevertheless, the techniques involved have been successful enough to influence the more traditional methods of teacher training.

As a result of the experience gained through the ZINTEC program, the Ministry has decided to restructure teacher education in the conventional teacher-training college 4-year program, with the first and third years being full-time residential course years and the second and fourth years in-service distance education training.

The basic qualification for entrance to both conventional and

ZINTEC colleges is a satisfactory pass in at least five O-level subjects. The fourteen training colleges (eleven government, three private) are affiliated with the University of Zimbabwe and supervised through the Associate College Centre located in the Faculty of Education, which monitors the standards and examines students in their final year. The conventional colleges and the ZINTEC Centres had a combined enrollment of 15,587 students in 1984, almost equally distributed between the two systems. The government has continued to moderately expand the teachers' colleges and to phase out the ZINTEC program (Annual Report of the Secretary for Education, 1986). The teacher output is expected to stabilize at about five thousand a year in the near future. The government plans to continue to use large numbers of untrained teachers for financial reasons.

(v) Educational Expansion and an Egalitarian Society

The development of mass education system has created a defacto situation in which the recently established rural secondary schools are producing pupils with academic achievement considerably lower than the products from other types of schools. To a great extent they are thus disadvantaged in terms of competing equally for the rewards that society has to offer. Achievement at O-level governs entry to higher academic and technical training and, consequently, to the better paid and prestigious jobs in the modern sector of the economy. Clearly this situation taken in isolation is contrary to the government's stated intention of creating equality of access to education resources.

It might be argued, therefore, that what is emerging is an expanded replication of the pre-independence educational structure, highly differentiated in quality and highly stratified in terms of the life-chance benefits conferred. This perspective ignores, however, a number of factors that indicate that Zimbabwe has in its recent educational developments made considerable progress toward creating a system that is both responsible to the political imperatives for expansion and to the longer-term necessity of providing a quality product that can meet the intellectual and technical needs of the society.

With the rapid expansion of education, the quality of education has dropped. Dorsey (1989) argues that as the number of candidates increased over the 7-year period, 1980-1986, the percentage achieving an 'O' level certificate steadily declined from 66.6% in 1980 to 11.4% in 1986. This drop in quality can be attributable to lack of qualified teachers, insufficient reading materials, inadequate science laboratory equipment etc.

However, an important factor to consider is that, although the percentage of acceptable O-level passes has dropped, the vast expansion of system means that the number of high achievers has actually increased. Therefore, the system is capable of meeting the high-level manpower requirements of the expanding economy and is likely to continue to do so.

A second factor to be borne in mind is that the overall deterioration in the performance of O-level students outlined above is largely attributable to the very rapid pace of the expansion and not simply to finite limitations imposed by budgets. Expansion that ensures quality necessarily involves long lead times in terms of teacher education and the development of experienced administration, which cannot be condensed by fiscal inputs alone. There is nothing inherently inimical in Zimbabwe's educational expansion program to quality education, but the attainment of increased quantity with quality will take time. Thus the basic objectives of the program are viable, and the poor-quality performance of rural secondary schools need not necessarily be a permanent feature of the system.

Education, by imparting basic skills in numeracy and literacy, by developing conceptual and logical competencies, and by broadening the mental horizons of its recipients, should result in products capable of self-actualization in whom aspirations are linked with means, however informal. Such benefits are appropriated by individuals on a self-selecting basis and are less dependent on the academic qualifications. It follows that the expansion of the educational system in Zimbabwe, however uneven in quality, has enormously widened the "catchment area" for individuals capable of actualizing these benefits.

Provided that recruitment structures within the economy adjust sufficiently to take advantage of the potential that these individuals possess, this expansion will therefore, in itself, broaden the opportunity structure of the society. The fulfillment of this promise is by no means certain, but the extension of universal education to the secondary level is a necessary, if not sufficient, condition for its fulfillment.

None of this is put forward to suggest that in its educational expansion and reforms Zimbabwe has come close to approximating its ideal of an educational system that is equally open to all and completely egalitarian in its effects. Education continues to be assigned to an allocative role in social placement, a function from which it is unlikely to escape. Quality differentiation between schools is also unlikely to disappear in the near future, and this social differentiation will continue to be linked to a degree with the social location of the parents concerned. It can, however, be confidently asserted that significant advances have been made toward the egalitarian goal. The rigidly ascriptive, racial component of the past system has given way to elitist dimensions of a more class-like character, and these dimensions are similarly tenacious in their inegalitarian impact but also more mutable and more responsive to changes in the power structures of the society.

The rapidity and scope of the changes effected has furthermore created a sense of participation in both the students and parents involved in the system with the promise of greater relevance and pragmatism. Finally, in its impressive growth the system has become the vehicle for the self-actualization of a new and vastly expanded generation of Zimbabweans, and this provides the educational context for a potentially more egalitarian future for the society.

C. HUMAN RESOURCE NEEDS

In 1982, the Zimbabwean government, through the Ministry of Manpower Planning and Development conducted a country-wide manpower survey which was aimed at addressing the size, characteristics and potential of the country with regard to its manpower resources. The survey was also aimed at identifying shortages in the various work sectors. It should be noted that the many years of struggle had resulted in the spread of Zimbabweans to virtually all parts of the world. Many had left their homeland at relatively low levels of education and training and had embarked on a whole variety of education programs, vocational, technical and academic levels. It was, therefore, essential that a thorough survey of the available manpower resources should be carried out, if planning for development were to be on sound footing.

Altogether, 862,014 employees were covered. Of these, 60% were unskilled, 20% were semi-skilled, 12% were skilled and 8% were professionals. The general conclusion drawn from the survey was that there was an acute shortage of staff, particularly at the higher professional levels. The distribution of various skill levels showed that agriculture had the lowest percentage of professional and skilled workers.

However, despite the problem of manpower shortages in many skilled areas, the problem of the educated unemployment is prevalent in Zimbabwe. It is estimated that in 1985, there were 74,000 school leavers (and the number is increasing every year), only 41,293 of whom entered the employment market. It is, therefore, clear that a large number of school leavers and school dropouts find themselves needing a job.

D. THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The general purpose of the study is therefore to examine and analyze the extent to which secondary educational expansion in Zimbabwe is related to the country's employment opportunities. Specifically, the study focusses on:

(i) The increases in the numbers of secondary school graduates who are entering the job market in relation to the opportunities that exist for employment. This brings into focus the corresponding issues of unemployment and underemployment.

(ii) Growth in the labour market for such graduates and whether or not that growth is sufficient to accommodate the output of the expanded educational system.

(iii) This should throw light on whether the expansion of secondary education contributed to increased unemployment amongst the secondary school leavers.

In other words, the empirical research dimensions comprise the following:

(a) Extent of the Educational Expansion

Information was collected on enrollment figures in Government Group A (Government run schools for high income groups) and Group

B (Government run schools for low income groups) and Private Schools (independent and prestigious schools). The periods covered were 1970-1979 (before independence) to 1980-1989. The periods before independence is very important since it serves as the basis for comparison between what existed then and what has been achieved since independence and what the impact of the educational expansion has been on employment, unemployment and underemployment for school leavers.

(b) Capacity of the Economy to Absorb the Output of the Educational Expansion

The purpose here was to find out whether the economy is expanding fast enough to absorb all those youth who are looking for employment. Here, the focus is on the job opportunities for individuals with secondary education.

(c) Relevant Qualifications Needed by the Economy

The research seeks to find out whether or not the educational expansion program takes cognizance of the manpower needs. In other words, an attempt is made to find out whether or not the educational expansion has been responsive to the skilled labour shortages.

E. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is strategically important because Zimbabwe just gained her independence in 1980 and one of the first changes that Zimbabwe made was to expand the system of education. However, regarding educational expansion, no one has examined the extent to which the Zimbabwean educational expansion is related to the country's employment opportunities. It is, therefore, hoped that the study will be an "eye-opener" for the government and relevant non-governmental organizations.

The study is designed to yield both practical and theoretical benefits. The results from this exercise should be of interest to the policy/decision makers in Ministries of Education, Labour, Industry and Technology; Finance and Economic Development and also EMCOZ (Employers Confederation of Zimbabwe).

In terms of theoretical considerations, the results of the study are expected to contribute to the body of theoretical knowledge regarding employment and education and economic development. The study will also provide the researcher with an opportunity to further develop her skills in the application of quantitative as well as qualitative research methods.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. INTRODUCTION

> The line between one structure of schooling and the level of societal development does not necessarily imply strict causality in one direction or the other. It does, however, suggest' that any conflict or discontinuity between the two will possibly be detrimental to the development process (Fargalind, I. and Saha, L., 1983).

For the past three decades, western development theorists have been enthusiastic about the contribution of education to economic development in the developing nations basing their assumption on the expectation that since education had contributed to economic development in the now more industrial countries, it would do the same for the developing countries. Students of socio-economic development emphasize education as an agent of socio-cultural change that develops human capital, influences the formation of the elites, and modernizes attitudes and behaviour in the general population (Almond and Coleman, 1960). Economists and government officials have also emphasized that education can produce the knowledge and skills required for economic development (Druker, 1964; Galbraith, 1964; Meyers, 1964, and Court, 1972). Based on this assessment, many less economically developed societies have concentrated on expanding the educational system from primary through university levels. For example, primary school enrollment in Ghana almost tripled between 1960 and 1970.

In Zambia and Botswana, enrollments more than doubled between 1960 and 1970 (Commonwealth Secretariat Reports, 1975). In Kenya, Zambia and Sierra Leone, enrollments also nearly doubled during the same period. This suggests not only a general rise in the level of literacy, but also a substantial increase in access to education.

The main issue in this section of the study is to initially examine some of the empirical and theoretical basis for the belief that educational expansion can contribute to economic development in developing countries and to further examine to what extent this will relate to youth unemployment. To achieve this objective, two main approaches to the analysis of this phenomenon will be examined. This first is embraced by the "modernization school" which suggests that the development of areas such as Africa will come about only through closer association with the developed countries of the west in a much more comprehensive technological, even ideological sense. The human capital or human resources approach is an expression of this paradigm. The second explanation, incorporated into the "dependency model," views foreign penetration into the political and economic structure of the Third World as a conditioning factor and implies that development can occur only if both internal structures and Third World relations with the developed countries of the west undergo complete change. In other words, the purpose is two fold: (1) to outline various explanations offered by the modernization theory and the human capital approach regarding the relationship between education and economic growth; and (2) to critically analyze the limitations of the human capital theory within the context of the economically less developed societies through the use of Radical and Neo-Marxist (dependency) approaches.

B. THE MODERNIZATION PERSPECTIVE AND THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE IN THIRD WORLD SOCIETIES

During the 1950s and early 1960s, one of the major doctrines of the development literature was that successful economic development in the economically less developed countries could be realized only through substantial capital accumulation and rapid industrial growth, largely dependent upon western finance and technological inputs (Almond and Coleman, 1960). Rapid growth, it was argued, is the surest means of increasing the standard of living for most, if not all, members of society.

These theoretical models which were formulated and applied during this period were based primarily upon adaptations or variations of modernization theory, which was at the forefront of the sociology of development.

Although many of the basic doctrines of this paradigm have their roots in ideas expressed around the turn of the century by the great classical sociologists such as Emile Durkheim or their predecessors Compte, Spencer and Tonnies; modernization theory per se did not come to prominence until after the Second World War. Revolutionary changes in global economic and political conditions stimulated intense western interest in the direction and outcome of Third World development programs. As Pandey (1985) astutely indicates, underlying political motives may have played an important role in facilitating much of the public and private support for research in this field.

During the two decades following the war a gathering of American social scientists including Parson (1960), Almond and Coleman (1960), Pye (1966), Lerner (1958), and Rostow (1962) among others, flooded the academic world in a positivist high tide of development publications. By the mid 1960s this group had succeeded in creating a multi-disciplinary theoretical framework which attempted to explain, measure and often justify the problems of under-development in the less economically developed states.

The general theory conceptualized the modernization process as an evolutionary movement along a well demarcated continuum of social change. The basic underlying assumption was that all countries must necessarily follow an unilinear and incremental path from an 'undeveloped' to a 'developed' state in a manner similar to that experienced by the states of Western Europe. Given this premise, bourgeois theorists attempted to measure the level of a country's development through the indices of "traditionalism", as found in the 'original state', with their polar opposites in the modern industrialized world. The failure of the less economically developed states to march relentlessly forward along the path to modernization was often blamed upon the presence of endogenous barriers or deficiencies which temporarily hindered the inevitable transition from underdevelopment to development. This mode of analysis implies the acceptance of a mechanistic, theological theory of convergence in which homogenization is both desired and inevitable. The under-developed societies, through a diffusionist and evolutionary process, were expected to move inexorably from traditional to transitional, and eventually reach a stage represented by the so called developed societies. Ideally, the cultural, economic and political 'ideal-typical' destination envisioned by modernization theorists--to represent the point of coverage--was to be found in the Western European or American model.

The most elaborate, and pre-eminent of the 'stages models' was presented by Rostow (1962) in his historical analysis of economic development, "Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto." He attempts to identify specific historical factors which he believes are crucial in determining higher forms of production and society. In his characterization of the gap between development and under-development, Rostow envisions a unique sequence of five distinct stages through which all states must pass; traditional society, preconditions for take-off, take-off, the drive to maturity and the age of mass consumption (1962:4). As Webster (1984:53) points out, these five stages are derived directly from an eurocentric analysis of the industrial revolution in Britain and mechanically applied to a completely alien historical physical and cultural context.

As with Hoselitz and other theorists associated with this paradigm, Rostow's focus was upon identifying and overcoming existing endogenously generated deficiencies, whether they involve inappropriate values, a lack of entrepreneurship, or, central to this specific model, a low level equilibrium trap caused by a scarcity of investment capital.

In addition to the emphasis placed on economic growth as the key process in development, social scientists paid particular attention to the spread of the social, cultural, and political patterns of modernity established by the developed countries of the west such as education, political parties and urbanization. It was believed that rapid growth in all of these areas would inevitably transform developing nations into "modern" states. Based on these assumptions, social scientists looked to identify the proper "inputs of modernity" which, if installed in developing countries would ensure the progressive "stages" necessary for "take-off" (Rostow, 1962). This view constituted the basis on which most developing countries created development strategies. Kenya is a good example.

In order to help Third World nations improve their economic performance, flows of foreign aid and investment were channelled to them from the west. This policy was further reinforced by bi-lateral and multilateral aid agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations and U. S. Aid, which set growth targets and devised performance indicators on the basis of which assistance would be allocated (Cline, W. and Sargen, N., 1975). In many instances, growth rates did accelerate, and the tempo of expansion was much faster than once thought possible. For example, the Kenyan economy experienced a relatively rapid rate of growth of real monetary GDP - well over 6% per annum for 1964 - 1970 (Cheru, F., 1987).

However, the realization that growth does not necessarily mean development has led to a re-examination of the development process itself in at least two important respects. First, the traditional assumption that rapid growth is a necessary condition for higher standards of living for the masses has been retrospectively criticized on the grounds that growing inequality now is too high a price to pay for a further higher aggregate output. Proponents of this view argue that the goals of development planning or policy making be redefined to include reduced inequality as well as increased output; if necessary, some growth should be sacrificed to achieve a better distribution of available output (Adelman, and Morris, 1973, Brandt, et al., 1980; Hollins, et al., 1974). The re-examination process has also obviated the logic that without growth, there will be little to distribute, now or later; many planners and academics have begun to ask whether there are not better ways to grow. This in turn, has given new impetus to a fundamental debate over the sources of development or underdevelopment and to the extent to which inequality is a necessary concomitant of growth.

1. Formal Education and the Mobilization of Human Resources: The Human Capital Approach

The causal relationship between education and development became accepted by academics and policy-makers in the later 1950s and early 1960s. Supported by the publications and funding programmes of OECD and UNESCO, education came to be viewed almost without question as an important, and indeed, "crucial" agent for the rapid economic growth of nations (Fargalind and Saha, 1983).

The theoretical framework most responsible for the wholesale adoption of education and development policies has come to be known as human capital theory. Based upon the work of economists such as Schultz (1961), Denison (1962) and Becker (1964), human capital theory rested on the assumption that formal education is highly instrumental and even necessary to improve the production capacity of a population. In a nutshell, Human Capital Theory states that increased investment in human capital increases individual productivity and income and lays the technical base for the type of labour force necessary for economic growth in modern industrialized capitalist societies. In Schultz's (1963) words:

> ...people enhance their capabilities as producers and as consumers by investing in themselves and....schooling is the largest investment in human capital. This proposition implies that most of the economic capabilities of people are not given at birth or at the time when children enter upon their schooling.... these acquired capabilities...alter the structure of wages and salaries and the amount of earnings from

> work relative to the amount of income from property. There are long-standing puzzles about economic growth, changes in the personal distribution of income that can be substantially resolved by taking account of investment in human capital.

Denison identified two distinct ways in which education could contribute to economic growth. Firstly, increasing the educational level of workers would raise the quality of the labour force (inclusive of all occupations), and

> ...this may be presumed to increase labour productivity, independently of any tendency for a large number of educated people to speed the enlargement of the society's stock of knowledge relevant to production and, secondly, an upgrading of the educational background of the population may accelerate the rate at which society's stock of knowledge itself advances (OECD, 1964).

The human capital theorists argued that an educated population is a productive population. The emphasis of this theory is on the development of knowledge, skills and capabilities to improve the rate of societal economic progress.

The task of translating this theory into practice in underdeveloped countries was strongly influenced by the work of economists such as Blaug (1984), Harbison (1964), Meyers, C. (1964) and Bowman (1968). The Human Capital theory suggests that: The nations of the Third World were poor not because of the internal economic relations, but because of internal characteristics, most notably, their lack of human capital. As with the poor within advanced countries, nothing in the situation of the Third World countries called for radical structural change; development was possible if only they could improve the quality of their woefully inadequate human resources. (Mutua, R., 1975, Sheffield (1980), and Sifuna, D. (1980)).

The proponents of this school of thought argued that the rapid recovery of Western Europe with American capital through the Marshall plan could be largely attributable to the existence of a ready pool of qualified manpower. Hence, less developed countries, lacking in the "knowledge and superior technique of production" should be provided with aid and technical assistance to increase the quality of their human capital, which would result in their achieving self-sustaining growth (Cheru, F., 1987).

In their well known study, Education Manpower and Economic Growth, Harbison and Meyers (1964) stressed the point that the appraisal of human capital is a logical starting point for analysis of growth and modernization in underdeveloped countries. They argue that education, in addition to being a form of consumption, is also an individually and socially productive investment which contributes to economic growth by giving people the necessary skills that are required for accelerated productivity.

This approach to development was echoed in African countries in the years immediately after independence and, to a large extent, accounts for the rapid expansion of higher education in the 1960s (Ginzberg, 1969). The result of such expansion has been ever-burgeoning educational budgets in most developing countries. It is estimated that, on the average, 16% of the national budgets of developing countries are now being spent on education. Between 1960 and 1970, the annual growth rate in educational expenditure was 143% in Asia, 16% in Africa, and 20% in Latin America (Commonwealth Secretariat Statistics, 1975).

As a way of illustration, the influence of the human capital approach on the study of education on development in Kenya is clearly evident from an examination of various documents (both official and unofficial) that have been published since independence. The predominant themes of these documents are: (1) that education must foster a sense of nationhood and promote national unity; (2) that education must provide the skills and knowledge required for national development. The result of this policy has been the tremendous quantitative expansion of the educational system from primary school through the university. As a result, the educational budget now consumes nearly 30% of the total government recurrent expenditure (Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education, Annual Reports, 1963-1978). Thus, money and resources were channelled into tremendous expansion of a system still largely cast in a colonial mould. As in other developing countries, human capital approach had adverse effects in Kenya and Zimbabwe is evidenced by inequalities and high rates of educated unemployment.

It was assumed that the only solution to the problem of underdevelopment among poor nations was to enable them to accelerate their economic growth. Physical capital that could accelerate development was found to be a missing factor in these societies. Capital that was granted to Europe under the Marshal Plan proved to be productive. Therefore, it seemed to many policy-makers that capital infusion plus the transfer of modern technology...would enable these countries struggling economies to take off into self-sustaining process of economic development and modernization (Coombs, 1985).

However, from the above discussion, it can be rightly argued that the degree of theoretical conviction was so high, while the level of empirical evidence was so scant that the belief in the benefits of education has been "one of the most romantic tales of the century" (Adams, 1977:300).

Thus, Todaro (1985) argues that although it is extremely difficult to document statistically, it seems clear that the expansion of educational opportunities at all levels has probably contributed to aggregate economic growth. He further argues that even if alternative investments in the economy would have generated greater growth, this would not detract from the important contributions, non-economic as well as economic that education can make and has made to promoting aggregate economic growth. Todaro concludes his argument by saying that the fact that an educated and skilled labour force is a necessary condition of sustained economic growth cannot be denied.

Another consideration that social scientists and economists considered was the trickle down theory of development which suggested that it was the modern sector of the developing countries; economies that would spearhead their development. The essential features of this theory were formulated by Arthur Lewis (1954), whose argument was that the centre of economic gravity in these countries must "continuously shift towards industry through continuous reallocation of labour from the agricultural to industrial sector." In Zimbabwe, the colonial government emulated and tried to legitimize Arthur Lewis' trickled down theory by making sure they invested heavily in the modern sector of the economy and neglected the rural areas where the majority of the population lived. Colonialists had no conception of development outside the modern sector. They assumed that the commercial agricultural base run by whites would raise income levels and benefit the elite. They had no concern for those who were not in the export process. In accordance with this assumption, it was suggested that continued economic growth would be primarily dependent upon the human resources - trained manpower rather than on mere traditional economic inputs of ordinary labour and physical capital. Thus, human capital theorists - Harbison, Meyer and others in the early 1960s identified the importance for formal education to economy as being chiefly through the provision of trained and high level manpower. They also clearly saw it as leading to improvements in health and population control. Since the early 1960s education and manpower planning have played a central role in most of these development strategies, primarily based on the trained manpower needs of the modern sector.

However, both the human capital theory and modernization theory have failed to provide the expected outcomes. They have failed to provide relevant skills, knowledge and attitudes for mass participation in development. They have failed to promote equality of employment opportunities, maximize economic growth and reduce the poverty in LDCs.

In short, human capital theory failed, largely because of questionable assumptions and more recent historical events such as the downturn in the world economy in the middle 1970s and persisting evidence of irregularities in societies, in spite of rapid and massive educational expansion in most countries. Williamson (1979) argues that in order to understand the relationship between education and economic growth, much more needs to be known in the case of human capital approach about the way in which social and political structures in society respond to and mould patterns of educational investments and the results of that investment. The importance of his point is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the educational experience of some of the world's poorer societies. The overall argument that such societies require education in order to grow comes quite unstuck when the actual consequences of education investment and policies are examined. Three issues illustrate this point. They are all interconnected with one another and are singled out here only for purposes of exposition. The first concerns rural-urban imbalance in education provision; the second is the relevance of particular types of curricula to realise development goals; the third concerns patterns of inequality and of opportunity among different groups in Third World societies--developed societies are equally guilty on this point.

2. Education and Development: Radical and Neo-Marxist (Dependency) Critique

When the human capital approach failed to deliver the expected outcomes as noted above, Neo-Marxist theorists came forward with explanations for the failure. For example, the human capital approach to the Zimbabwean situation, especially as far as individuals with a secondary education are concerned has failed.

It has been noted by Fargalind and Saha (1983) and many other writers that the most undermining challenge to the education and development hypothesis has come from radical and neo-Marxist camps. Fargalind and Saha go on to argue that these writers, that is, Radical and neo-Marxists, are in general agreement concerning their rejection of development theory derived from evolutionary, structural-functional and modernization perspectives. They represent departures from the linear and cyclical linear models of social change in that the current situation in most Third World countries are not seen as an "original state," soon to follow and imitate the paths of already developed societies, but the results of many centuries of decline, due to a process of dependency and underdevelopment. "Underdevelopment is no longer to be regarded as a residual and passive condition, but is a phenomenon resulting from particular historical process" (Bernstein, 1979-1983).

In other words, the basic hypothesis of the "dependency theory" which is probably most closely identified with the work of Andre Gunder Frank (1967), is that development and underdevelopment are partial, interdependent structures of one global system. He argues that the development and expansion of capitalism in the periphery began and furthers an unequal and combined development of its constitutive parts. Growth is unequal because dependent nations can only grow as a reflection of the expansion of dominant nations.

Capitalist expansion creates underdevelopment by concentrating wealth at one pole--the metropolis--poverty at the other--the satellite. These internal and external dimensions of metropolis/satellite relations which can also happen within and between societies are structurally similar, interlocked, and mutually consistent. In Frank's view, these relationships are crucial factors shaping the political and economic systems of Third World relations.

As an example, in Zimbabwe, settler colonialism which was capitalistic in nature and in addition imperialist formed the basis of dependency and underdevelopment. Settler colonialism in Zimbabwe, and by implication elsewhere, particularly in Southern

Africa, took shape and developed as a system of political domination resting on, and sustained by a structurally dependent economic system of deprivation and exploitation of the majority in favour of the settler minority which itself formed the visible, local agent of imperialism. In other words, the operative impact of the ensemble of socio-economic institutions erected under settler colonialism was the progressive underdevelopment of the conditions of life for the colonized majority arising from the appropriation of resources and the surplus product by the colonizing minority and the imperial power. It is important to emphasize here that the said appropriation accrued to the benefit of both the imperial power and the colonizing minority at the expense of the colonized majority.

Importantly Settler colonialism is not merely a system of political domination of a native majority by an immigrant minority. It also constitutes a social system that, in the measure in which it advances the material interests of the settlers, "under-develops' the native majority.

In more recent social science literature, the concept of underdevelopment has acquired a new, and it would seem on the historical evidence, realistic definition. Instead of being viewed from a static comparative perspective whereby country B is observed to "lag" behind country A in socio-economic and technologic terms, underdevelopment has increasingly come to be viewed as a dialectical relation of domination that has historically relatively impoverished some societies as it sets others on the road to social advance. In other words, underdevelopment constitutes a process of exploitation of one society by a more technically advanced one. Thus according to Rodney (1971):

> An indispensable component of modern underdevelopment is that it expresses a particular relationship of exploitation: namely the exploitation of one country by another. All of the countries named as "underdeveloped" in the world are exploited by others; and the underdevelopment with which the world is now preoccupied is a product of capitalist, imperialist and colonial exploitation. African and Asian societies were developing independently until they were taken over directly or indirectly by the capitalist powers. When that happened, exploitation increased and the export of surplus ensured, depriving the societies of the benefit of new natural resources and labour. That is an integral part of underdevelopment in the contemporary sense.

This line of thought is shared by A. G. Frank, Samir Amin, Emmanuel, Cardosa, Faletto, Dos Santos and others. Thus education alone in these circumstances cannot sustain economic growth since it tends to be elitist in nature and caters for those in power, economically and technologically.

These radical views in connection with education have become persuasive and influential. In many respects their critiques of education and development incorporate and are part of a larger movement in the sociology of education generally, where structural-functional and consensus approaches have been rejected in favour of conflict and sometimes micro-oriented perspectives (Karabel and Halsey, 1977). In view of this, the neo-Marxist critique becomes crucial in terms of focusing on societies with capitalist economies and on the world system rather than on particular nation-states considered independently of others. It then becomes impossible to assess the role of education in development in Third World societies without an international perspective. In other words, in neo-Marxism, the crucial unit of analysis is the world system made up of networks of relations between countries in which some countries are dominant while others are subordinate. Education, like manufactured goods, is seen both in terms of domestic and international consumption. According to Fargalind and Saha (1983), the important question to ask here is not, "How does education contribute to social and economic development, but rather, what kind of education is appropriate for what kind of development, and in whose interests?"

Neo-Marxists, agree that education can contribute to economic growth. However, they contend that this growth in advanced capitalist societies has mainly served the interest of those in power and has perpetuated the inequalities of the social system. Critics have agreed that schools in advanced capitalist societies like Britain, France and the United States reflect the values and interests of the upper and middle classes and that they operate to the disadvantage of the working class.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) contend that schools reinforce and reproduce the class structure of capitalist society by producing a docile and compliant work force. Empirical research in France by Pierre Bourdieu has shown that schools provide the dominant classes with "cultural and material capital" which enables them to participate more fully in the social system and its rewards (Bourdieu, 1973). According to critiques such as these, the contribution of education to the production of skilled manpower and therefore the economic growth is evident but the question is whether such education contributes in the long run to social, economic and political equality which in their view is essential for continued development in less economically developed societies.

Schooling in most former colonies of Africa, Latin America, South and South East Asia was imported from western industrialized societies and has served the same dominant social group as did the colonial system as a whole. Therefore, Carnoy (1974) argues that schools in many developing countries are simply a form of neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism. According to dependency theorists, schools in these instances continue to serve the interests of the "core countries." Frank, following Marx calls these elites, "lumpen proletariat" who serve overseas interests rather than the interests of their own people (Frank, 1972). From this perspective then, traditional education is not seen to serve the development interests of the Third World, but rather contributes to the continuing process of underdevelopment. The critique is not based on the rejection of education but rather on the particular form that education has taken as it has historically evolved in western capitalist societies. The critique, then, is directed more fundamentally at the capitalist model of education, and the diffusion of this model on other societies subordinate to capitalist influence.

It is perhaps appropriate at this stage to argue that the role of education in development is ideologically less negative in socialist countries. Both in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries, education has been regarded as an essential part of strategies for social and economic advancement. More recently in the People's Republic of China, Cuba and Tanzania, education, from literacy programmes to high levels of scientific and technological training, has been in the forefront of policy planning and expenditure. Levin (1975) analyzes the function of education pursued through different development strategies by what is called the "correspondence principle" that is, the activities and outcomes of the society generally. Thus, all educational systems represent an attempt to serve their respective societies such that the social, economic and political relationships of the educational sector will mirror closely those of the society of which they are a part. Thus, Carnoy and Levin argue that if a society emphasizes competition and hierarchical relations in production, then the schools will reflect these attributes in their activities. In contrast, if a society emphasizes cooperative social and economic relationships, such as China, Cuba and Tanzania, the schools would be expected to reflect those cooperative goods.

C. THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION AND EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT

> The role of education in unemployment depends ultimately, on how we view the functioning of the economy and its labour market (Carnoy, 1977).

Among the problems created by development strategies premised on the human capital approach and modernization paradigm are unemployment in general and underemployment which is concentrated among the young and educated in particular. A paradoxical aspect of the last two decades was that increased investment in education was accompanied by increasing unemployment and under-utilization of human resources, giving rise to social and political unrest in developing countries. The increasing number of educated unemployed in LDCs negates the contribution that education can make to economic growth at the societal level and to individual job prospects at the individual level. The relationship between years of schooling and occupational attainment is no longer valid as the number of educated individuals has outstripped the abilities of modern and developing economies to absorb them.

1. Defining the Problem

Finding a suitable definition or measurement which will encompass the wide range of labour problems related to insufficient work opportunities and inadequate income is problematic. The conventional measure of unemployment used by most countries is to count everyone without work who is looking for work at the going wage in the "reference week" of the employment survey. This is called open unemployment (Todaro, 1985). However, Coombs (1985) argues that national employment and unemployment statistics can be very misleading in developing countries, not only because their reporting services are generally weak but even more because these concepts and ways of measuring them that apply to industrialized countries do not fit the conditions of less developed economies where self-employment and unsteady odd jobs play such dominant roles. In developing countries self-employment and unsteady employment are accompanied by employment in jobs requiring less education or skill than an individual possesses, yielding large numbers of under-employed individuals.

The scope of the unemployment problem goes beyond the simple shortage of work opportunities or the under-utilization and low productivity of those who work long hours. It also includes the growing divergence between inflated attitudes and job expectations, especially among the educated youth, and the actual jobs available in urban and rural areas. In particular, the growing aversion to manual and agricultural work fostered in urban - and "white collar" oriented educational systems creates tremendous strains for poor societies attempting to accelerate national development.

As can be seen from this study so far, it is difficult to come up with a concise definition of the unemployment problem. However, Todaro (1985) argues that to get a full understanding of the significance of the employment problem, we must take into account, in addition to the openly unemployed, those larger numbers of workers who may be visibly active but in an economic sense are grossly under-utilized. Professor O. Edwards as quoted by Todaro (1985) correctly pointed out in his comprehensive survey of employment problems in developing countries:

> In addition to the numbers of people unemployed, many of whom may receive minimal incomes through the extended family system, it is also necessary to consider the dimension of: 1) time (many of those employed would like to work more hours per day, per week or per year), 2) intensity of work (which brings in considerations of health and nutrition) and, 3) productivity (lack of which can often be attributed to inadequate complementary resources with which to work). Even these are only the most obvious dimensions of effective work, and factors such as motivation, attitudes, and cultural inhibitions (as against women, for example) must also be considered.

These definitional problems make the Colombian definition attractive. Inadequate income is the key factor in judging the adequacy of manpower utilization. Whether people are employed, underemployed or unemployed they are part of the same socio-economic and political problem if they are not receiving an adequate income. (Colombian Report, p. 15 as cited by Blaug, 1973). Although Carnoy (1977) argues that unemployment can be viewed as a separate problem because of the "psychological anxiety" caused by having no work, he must agree that chronic poverty and mental health are not dramatically improved by working twelve hours a day and still not having enough to feed one's family.

2. Extent of Unemployment in Third World

> Projections to 1990 indicate that the rate of Third World unemployment will rise steadily and that the total numbers of the unemployed will reach almost 90 million. Adding projections for the underemployment could give a figure as high as 600 million workers in the mid 1980s who are either unemployed, employed, part-time or whose productivity is very low. (Todaro, Michael, P., 1985).

Table 2.1 from Todaro's study (1985) provides a summary picture of employment and unemployment trends since 1960 with projections to the year 1990 for developing countries. The table shows that unemployment grew from approximately 36.5 million in 1960 to over 54 million in 1973 an increase of 46%. This averages out to an annual rate of increase of 3% which is higher than the annual rate of employment growth during this same period. Thus, in the developing world as a whole, unemployment was growing faster than employment.

The trends also indicate that unemployment has been growing at a steady rate in most Third World countries over the past three decades. Present projections indicate that the average annual percentage growth of the labour force will exceed 2% in the Third World at least until the end of the century. The concurrent trend to more capital intensive methods of production means that the labour market will be unable to absorb this rapidly expanding work force. In nations where output in the manufacturing sector has shown rapid growth, it has not been matched by increases in employment. Although skilled jobs in the government sectors of most Third World countries are continuing to expand, they are not increasing fast enough to employ the growing numbers of educated unemployed.

TABLE 2.1 Employment and Unemployment in Developing Countries 1960-1980 (in thousands)

Indicator	1960	1970	1973	1980	1990
All developing countries*					
Employment +	507,416	617,244	658,00	773,110	991,600
Unemployment	36,466	48,798	54,130	65,620	88,693
Unemployment rate (%)	6.7	7.4	7.6	7.8	8.2
Combined unemployment and underemployment rate (%) **	25	27	29		
Africa	31	39	38		
Asia	24	26	25		
Latin America	18	20	25		
All Africa					
Employment +	100,412	119,633	127,490	149,390	191,180
Unemployment	8,416	12,831	[illegible]	15,973	21,105
Unemployment rate (%)	7.7	9.6	9.8	9.8	9.9
All Asia *					
Employment +	340,211	413,991	441,330	516,800	660,300
Unemployment	24,792	31,440	34,420	43,029	59,485
Umemployment rate (%)		6.8	7:1	7.2	7.78.3
All Latin America					
Employment +	66,793	83,620	89,180	106,920	140,120
Unemployment	3,258	4,527	5,820	6,618	8,103
Unemployment rate (%)	4.7	5.1	6.1	5.8	5.5

* Excluding China
+ Including underdevelopment
**Not calculated for 1980 and 1990

SOURCE: Yves Sabalo, "Employment and Unemployment, 1960-90" International Labour Review 112, No. 6 (1975), Table 3 and Appendix.

As based on Table 2.1, it is argued that underemployment in the Third World had reached 29% by 1973 and this condition appears to have grown even worse in the past fifteen years. The table also shows that Africa is experiencing a labour under-utilization rate of 38%. Throughout the urban areas of Third World, open unemployment levels regularly exceed 10%, and in many cases it is more than double this figure (Todaro, 1985).

3. Extent of Unemployment in Zimbabwe

The Department of Employment Development estimated that the total labour force in Zimbabwe was around 2,500,000 in 1985, of which 1,900,000 (or approximately 44%) were engaged in formal, paid employment in the private and public sectors and in parastatals. An estimated 750,000 (or approximately 30% of the labour force) were engaged in individual or cooperative self-employment activities in communal or resettlement areas. Another 500,000 (or approximately 20%) made their living from the informal sector activities, such as carpentry, brick-making, upholstery, pottery, weaving, soapstone and wood carving, and many such activities.

And as noted in chapter one, there were 74,000 school leavers and that only 41,293 of these entered the employment market. So, it is clear that a large number of secondary school leavers find themselves needing a job. However, detailed statistics in relation to youth unemployment in Zimbabwe will be available in chapter four of this study.

4. Causes of Unemployment: A Theoretical Perspective

> Continued high unemployment overall and the emergence of an educated unemployed may not be an inefficiency of an otherwise rational system, but may be a desirable and logical outcome of avoiding labour shortages at all skill levels and putting downward pressure on wages and upward pressure on productivity. (Martin Carnoy, 1977).

In the past thirty years a wide range of possible reasons have been provided to account for the high rates of unemployment which exist in the developing nations. These theories have included the traditional deficiency of investment in physical and human capital arguments, dual economy imbalances, dependency theories, and an emphasis upon the segmentation of labour markets in capitalist economies.

During the 1950s most development strategies employed in the Third World were based upon the belief that economic growth would follow a historical linear and incremental path similar to that experienced in the industrialized countries. It was suggested that capital accumulation was deficient and therefore these nations could not finance the industrialization and modernization needed to leap into the next stage of development. Economists argued that LDCs required massive infusions of capital to build up a heavy industrial base which would facilitate economic expansion. They assumed that the benefits of this strategy of accelerated industrialization would spread downward leading to complementary production increases in mining, manufacturing, and agriculture (ırizarry, 1980). As modernization filtered through all the levels of production, labour would be drawn from the traditional sectors to be incorporated into a integrated system similar to western industrialized nations.

By the early 1960s it was obvious that this emphasis on accelerated industrialization was not producing the predicted or desired effects in most of the Third World countries, Economic planners tried to account for this failure by pointing out the deficiency of skilled manpower which was present in the LDCs. The focus shifted to increased investment in strategic human resource development to match industrialization and modernization. Large quantities of scarce public resources were invested in educational expansion in an effort to produce skilled managers, technicians, and workers.

The failure of these traditional western strategies of development is evident throughout the developing world. These high levels of physical and human capital investment may have led to sustained rates of economic growth in some states, however they have not been accompanied by modern integrated forms of production. Unemployment in all forms has risen, inequality continues to widen, and dependency increases.

As Carnoy (1977) has pointed out, these theories were rooted in "Capitalist ideology" which treated external relations between capitalist countries as equal and without political content. They also failed to account for internal class conflicts by viewing employment in terms of competitive equilibrium and marginal productivity as if they existed in a vacuum.

Frederick Harbison (1966) took the traditional approach one step further without entering the wider political scope of the argument. Harbison saw the modernization process itself as a generator of unemployment in the Third World because of the creation of a dual economy. He argued that unbalanced development was a "by-product of growth, a disease of industrialization, and a consequence of the introduction of modern ideas and institutions." He characterizes the problems of wage differentials, capital intensive mechanization of production, and the lower utilization of labour in the modern sector as natural by-products of modernization. He correctly describes the characteristics of the modern and traditional sectors, however he makes no real effort to describe the underlying reasons for their formation.

As the absorption rate of the modern sector decreases relative to the demand for high paying prestige jobs, visible unemployment and rural-urban migration increases. Therefore he believes that increased capital investment in the modern sector cannot be called upon to reduce unemployment or produce balanced economic growth. Harbison then calls for corrections in these structural imbalance to minimize unemployment, and promotes modernization to the rural traditional sector as the real solution.

In the early 1960s Archibald Callaway found that unemployment among primary school leavers in Nigeria had already reached serious proportions. A more recent report found that in western Nigeria, 41% of the primary school leavers were without employment nine months after leaving school.

In Kenya, a 1968 tracer project indicated that a total of 1,186 secondary school leavers, 175 (14%) remained unemployed in their first year after school. The remaining leavers were distributed as follows:

- 513 (45%) undertook further education;
- 394 (33%) were employed and the remainder 86 (7%) untraced.

(Kinyanjui, K. (1973).

In the 1975 Certificate of Primary Education Examination (CPE), of 220,000 candidates, approximately 150,000 (68%) failed to gain admission to secondary schools. Of those, some found work; others joined the ranks of the unemployed. This growing problem in Kenya, as is elsewhere in developing nations, suggests that the further rapid expansion of formal education beyond literacy level without constructive efforts to create meaningful employment opportunities is likely to generate political as well as educational unrest (Cheru, F. (1987).

Raphael Irizarry (1980) argues that unemployment problems in the LDCs do not arise from labour market imperfections, institutional deficiencies, or misguided educational policies. He suggests that it is due to the same social and economic structural factors which account for the failure of the accelerated industrialization strategy. It is the historical evolution of dependency relations between the economies of LDCs and developed countries which lies behind the development problem.

The relationship between the industrialized metropoles and the peripheral colonies has always been based upon the flow of raw resources for production in one direction and manufactured goods for consumption in the other. This dependency usually includes the need for external sources of capital and credit to exploit the natural and human resource base.

Historically the dependency process leads to the creation of a local enclave elite in the LDCs who often gain control of the economic structures of production in capitalist economies after independence is achieved. Disarticulation between sectors of the economy often accompany this process resulting in segmented labour markets. The rural peasants and urban poor are marginalized in an undercapitalized traditional sector, while the small capitalist class who control the modern sector reap the benefits. All forms of local entrepreneurship are displaced because they cannot compete with the modern capital intensive firms, or the imports which the metropole produces.

The subsidiaries of transnational companies usually import western technology, expertise, and equipment resulting in little employment creation in the manufacturing sector. As Irizarry (1980) has indicated, 60% of the non-agricultural, modern sector jobs are found in services, with a much smaller percentage in manufacturing.

As a result of dependency and underdevelopment the economies of LDCs become fragmented, and distinct class divisions are accentuated. This allows overall economic growth to coexist with underemployment, vast inequality, and over-education. Both Irizarry (1980) and Carnoy (1977) emphasize the need to look at the dynamic process of class formation and conflict to understand the social, political and economic structures which have evolved.

Carnoy argues that unemployment is the logical extension of class formation and profit maximization. In the modern sector production is organized to benefit the owners, managers, and their "bureaucratic allies," both within the country, and in the head offices of the transnational. It is to their advantage to have a surplus army of overeducated labour to drive up the supply and drive down wages.

Carnoy insists that viewing distortions in the labour market and inefficiencies in government planning as the main causes for the employment problem is a failure to deal with the real problem. He is critical of the "reformist reforms" issued by Blaug, Harbison, Coombs and others who fail to confront the inherent inequalities in the structural foundations of capitalist production.

> Unlike orthodox theory and theories of economic dualism, radical economic theories assume that the basic social relations of

> production under capitalism is neither the price mechanism nor technology, but is the relations of capitalist to labourer, which under modern conditions is embodied in the relations of labour to management. (Carnoy, 1977).

Using this approach, the employment question is not viewed as a technological or human resource development problem, but a political struggle between the dominant elite and the lower classes. Any study of unemployment must look at the social, political, and economic forces which effect employment and wages. Carnoy suggests that unemployment is caused by intentional investment and production policies which result from rational decisions to maximize profit.

Given this argument, education's role in economic development and the possible alleviation of unemployment must be considered using similar criteria. If education is a reflection of the society in which it functions, then its purpose would be to cater to the capitalist labour needs, and reproduce the ideology which justifies the inherent inequity which the system creates.

In the colonial context formal education was established by the colonizers to meet the economic and political needs of the imperialist hierarchy. Control over access to the school system meant that both the culture and productive capacity of the population could be altered to suit the dominant class.

It was through the schools that an indigenous elite was prepared to handle the lower and middle administrative positions in the government and companies. The school was designed to help people fit into the structures created by the metropole, not to encourage overall development in the traditional sector. After colonialism, the school system, the comprador elite, and the economic structures of dependency remained in place.

D. THE INTERACTION BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION AND THE LABOUR MARKET

As noted earlier, in recent years, serious questions have been raised which challenge some of the traditional assumptions about the effects of education on economic growth and social mobility (Carnoy, M., 1977). The efforts to rapidly expand educational opportunities have not been without problems. Despite the heavy investment in education, unemployment of school leavers, for example, has become a matter of growing concern...even political discontent...in many cases, as these developing countries do not have sufficient employment for school graduates.

During the educational expansion period of the 1960s and 1970s. the number of educated unemployed youth began to rise rapidly as the relatively low number of positions in the government and industrial sectors were filled. The disparity between wages in these positions and those of the traditional sector raised the demand for further education even more. As Todaro and Edwards (1972) have pointed out, the prospects of higher earnings in the modern sector combined with the extremely low private costs of schooling relative to these potential benefits to create an "inflated demand." This increasing demand led to a quest for credentials to compete for a limited number of job opportunities. Employers have a tendency to give preference to workers with higher levels of education regardless of whether productivity will be increased. This distorts the labour and wage markets forcing the workers down the social and economic order.

At present, the opportunities for education far exceed the opportunities for employment, therefore, the level of education among the unemployed continues to rise. In other words, the quantitative and qualitative imbalance between the educational output and available employment opportunities has grown continuously since the 1960s. Economically rewarding and high status jobs in the modern sector are no longer available in sufficient numbers in most of the developing nations to meet the growing demand, regardless of one's educational qualifications. The gap between aspirations and opportunities has increased the demand for further schooling has continued to increase in the belief that even higher qualifications are needed to find the limited jobs in the modern sector.

On the one hand, approaches used by western theorists, for example modernization theory and human capital theory have failed to deal adequately with the problem of education, employment and development. On the other hand, despite the recent interest in the internal dynamics of peripheral capitalism, dependency theory has, on the whole, inspired the very few studies on education. Indeed, the studies which have attempted to develop a Marxist point of view about the interaction between schooling and the labour market have not come from the existing studies of underdevelopment, but rather from studies of education in advanced capitalist countries, particularly the United States: Bowles and Gintis (1976). There is no definitive study of education which utilizes the insights that have been gained from the recent debates on underdevelopment theory

However, in the case of Africa, Walter Rodney (1974) has attempted to show the linkages between the development of western education and the underdevelopment of the continent. He views colonial education as merely "education for subordination, exploitation, and the creation of mental confusion." He argues forcefully that:

> The main purpose of the colonial school system was to train Africans to help man the local administration at the lowest ranks and to staff the private capitalist firms owned by Europeans. In effect, that meant selecting a few Africans (a process of incorporation) to participate in the domination and exploitation of the continent as a whole. It was not an educational system that grew out of the African environment or one that was designed to promote the most rational use of material and social resources. It was not an educational system designed to give young people confidence and pride as members of African societies, but one which sought to install a sense of defence towards all that was European and capitalist. (Rodney, 1974).

As he clearly identifies, the main purpose of colonial education was to provide trained manpower to run the colonial economic structure. It was not intended to give skills that would use African resources for autonomous development of African societies. The quality, context and quantity of education given to Africans was different from that given in European schools. In fact, the colonial education system was racially segregated. The overall colonial educational policy was, therefore, to reinforce the destruction of the autonomy of African economies and to reorient them toward production for the dominating metropolitan capitalist economies. In this way, colonial schooling was part and parcel of the totality of the forces of underdevelopment, and its reproduction in the post independence period must be examined carefully. As Kinyanjui (1980) succinctly puts it:

> Western education, like political and economic structures planted in the colonies, was an essential part of the expansion of western capitalist system. As part of the superstructure of the capitalist system, it had the double task of incorporating the colonized people into that system and reproducing the emerging relations of production.

The implication here is that this type of education serves as an instrument for social control and domination.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

A. INTRODUCTION

1. Research Procedures

The central purpose of the study is to examine and analyze the extent to which secondary education in Zimbabwe is related to the country's employment opportunities. The problem is analyzed from the perspective of secondary school enrollments, growth in the labour market, labour policies and whether or not expansion of secondary education contributed to increased unemployment amongst secondary school leavers.

2. Methodology

The method of data collection used in this study is based on secondary analysis of available information supplemented by interviews.

Traditionally, social scientists have been encouraged to collect their own data, regardless of the data collection method used. After selecting the question to be addressed, researchers are charged with designing their research in keeping with the problem at hand. When survey research is the method of choice, questions can be developed to elicit precisely those data that are needed (Kiecolt, J. K. and Nathan, L. E., 1985).

Unfortunately, independent data collection by the individual investigator has become increasingly difficult. Constraints of the current economic climate and declining resources for research in the social sciences have made it necessary for more researchers to rely on existing survey data (Kiecolt and Nathan, 1985). The potential for accomplishing original research with precollected data is nevertheless tremendous. Further, in as much as original data cannot be gathered for times past, analysts of change must rely on existing data to probe shifts in attitudes and behaviour. Secondary analysis is thus gaining a central role in contemporary social research.

This type of analysis is neither a specific regimen of analytic procedures nor a statistical technique. Rather, it is a set of research endeavours that use existing materials. It differs from primary research in that primary analysis involves both data collection and analysis, while secondary analysis requires the application of creative analytical techniques to data that have already been collected.

Therefore, for the purposes of this study, secondary analysis was found to be the most attractive and appropriate for the researcher for several reasons:

(a) Its potential for resource savings, that is, it required less money, less time and fewer personnel.

(b) A wide array of materials in the course of secondary analysis during the study expanded the researcher's intellectual horizons.

(c) Secondary analysis also enabled the researcher to examine the problem of youth unemployment overtime, that is, covering 1979 the year before independence, and 1980 - 1989 after independence.

In other words, as Hyman, H. H. (1972) confirms:

> Secondary analysis of a series of comparable surveys from different points in time provides one of the rare avenues for the empirical description of long-term change, and for examining the way phenomena vary under the contrasted conditions operative in one society in several periods.

3. Procedure for Obtaining Data

The Secretary for Public Service Commission (which is the umbrella body of all government ministries and departments) was contacted through a formal letter request for permission to carry out research. Included in the letter was a brief description of the nature and purpose of the study as well as request for permission to collect data from relevant ministries and departments.

Another formal letter of request was written to the Employers Confederation of Zimbabwe (EMCOZ) which is the umbrella body of all employers in the private sector in Zimbabwe.

4. Data Source

The Department of Employment and Employment Development (DEED) in the Ministry of Labour Manpower Planning and Social Welfare was important since it looks after school leavers as far as registering them for employment, placing them in jobs and keeping employment statistics.

The Ministry of Industry and Technology helped in providing information on whether industry was expanding or not and also what type of industry Zimbabwe has. It was also hoped that this ministry would answer the question whether (in the view of the government as seen by that Ministry) or not the schools were producing the youth with relevant qualifications for industry.

The Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and Development helped by providing information regarding whether the economy was viable enough to continue with the expansion of education and whether educational expansion was a worthwhile exercise. The crucial issue here being whether the money that is poured into education expansion could not be used in more viable enterprises, for example, employment creation.

Initially it was hoped that the Employers Confederation of Zimbabwe (EMCOZ) would give statistics on employment registration, the number who find employment and in which areas, and also comment on whether industry was expanding fast enough to absorb the growing number of school leavers. And although EMCOZ would not give statistics regarding registration for employment, contact with the Confederation was very useful for the study since it gave general background information on the unemployment situation in Zimbabwe, including why the country has such great numbers of school leavers who are unemployed, the kind of job seeker for which the private sector is looking for and possible solutions for youth unemployment and also which types of industries are expanding and which are not.

The Ministry of Education was very helpful in providing information on enrollments, that is, the patterns of educational expansion since 1980. The Ministry also helped by giving information on policy objectives for educational expansion and also attempted to answer the question whether or not educational expansion has contributed to secondary school leaver unemployment.

The Central Statistical Office (CSO) was helpful in many ways but most importantly, it provided the researcher with the results of the Labour Force Survey which was carried out by the office in 1986 - 1987. This was the first and only survey that was ever done in Zimbabwe. Information from the Labour Survey constitute a major component of this research.

Secondary data sources included journals, research papers, articles, graduate theses on the topic from the Departments of Educational Foundations, Educational Administration and Human Resources Centre of the University of Zimbabwe. Additional information relevant to the topic was also obtained from Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies (ZIDS) which is a research institute and Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI). Data collection was limited to Harare where all the Head Offices of the Government departments and EMCOZ are located. It took the form of literature survey from the above offices and from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) which was done by the Central Statistical Office.

The LFS is a sample survey which encompassed about 10,700 households of which 5,400 were in urban areas and about 5,300 were in rural areas. It was conducted over a period of twelve moths beginning February, 1986 and ending January, 1987. The only exception was urban Harare which (due to enumeration problems) was covered from July, 1987 to June, 1988. The estimates from this sample can be regarded as reliable for figures greater than 1,000 for Harare. Although care was taken to ensure the accuracy of the LFS results, certain factors might have affected, to a greater or lesser extent, the reliability. The following could be distinct examples:

(a) rural students who spend most of their time working in the fields might have been misclassified as "communal farmers" instead of students;

(b) many respondents might not have known whether the establishment where they work was registered, hence accuracy in classifying formal/informal sectors was affected;

(c) some of the households which had been selected in the sample were omitted due to the resettlement exercise and this might have affected the coverage of the selected sample;

(d) data for urban Harare was collected at a different time period (1987 - 1988) from the other areas and could slightly affect comparability of data for the different provinces.

It is difficult to measure unemployment. Two kinds of common problems could be identified. The first one related to the identification of the respondent as employed, unemployed or not in the labour force. The second related to the reference period to be used in making the above classifications. In the LFS, unemployed persons were those people who, during the reference period were not employed and who wanted and were available for work.

Generally, however, four criteria are used to identify a person as unemployed: joblessness; ability to work; willingness to work, and actively seeking work.

Even if the first three criteria are satisfied, it is often difficult to identify whether or not a person is actively seeking work. As is common in many developing countries which are characterized by extensive rural communities and often very limited formal employment opportunities some persons may not seek work because they think there are no jobs available. They, instead engage in other activities such as farming until a job becomes available.

As mentioned before, in the LFS, the reference period used to determine current unemployment was a week prior to the survey. A person who worked at least part of the week, was often classified as employed. This tends to inflate figures on employment while decreasing the numbers unemployed.

According to the Labour Force Survey, the population aged fifteen years and above was 4.3 million. Nearly 51% or 2.2 million were females and the rest were males. About 50% of this adult population were in communal land areas and 32% were in rural areas. In other words, 82% of the adult population were in rural areas.

B. INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the only appropriate research method to obtain data for this study was through secondary analysis of available data since, among other important reasons, it was the only method suitable for this type of research and also enabled the researcher to examine the problem of youth unemployment over time, that is, covering 1979, the year before Independence, and 1980 - 1989 after Independence.

However, to a very limited extent, a semi-structured interview was used to confirm, validate or supplement available data. The interviews were conducted using an interview guide. The study used some of the "standard open-ended questions," but mostly the "general interview guide approach." (Patton, 1980, p. 197).

The participants selected for the interviews were chosen on the basis of their knowledge and position of authority in relation to the problem (educational expansion and youth unemployment) under investigation. Consequently such people as the Deputy Secretary of Primary and Secondary Education; Deputy Secretary of Higher Education; Deputy Secretary of Industry and Technology; Deputy Secretary of Labour Manpower Planning and Social Welfare;

Director of Employment and Employment Development; Deputy Secretary of Finance, Economic Planning and Development and the Executive Director of Employers Confederation of Zimbabwe were interviewed. However, it is important to mention here that these interviews were only used to solicit information and supplement available data and as a result, the findings from the interviews are incorporated into the analytical chapter and are not analyzed separately since they are in conformity with the documented data and were not meant to play a major role in this study.

C. DATA ANALYSIS PLAN

Data analysis is referred to as a

> process which entails an effort to formally identify themes and the construct hypotheses (ideas) as they are suggested by data and an attempt to demonstrate support for those themes and hypotheses. (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975, p. 79).

It was not possible before the process of data collection to prepare a standardized format for analyzing the responses for the questions that were going to be asked, because some of the questions arose during the research process itself and also because most of the responses themselves were not yet known. The data analysis in this study commenced with the initial collection of data and continued after the collection was completed.

Bogdan and Biklen (1982) outline a similar process by which data analysis is more intensive at the later stages of the study, but still is an on-going part of the research. In secondary analysis of documented data which were supplemented by interviews, it was important that data collection and analysis be an on-going process throughout the study since the information obtained guides the focus of the study and directs future interviews and additional data collection (Glaser and Strauss, 1976).

Figures and responses were also analyzed according to the effect that they had on the issue under investigation.

D. TRIANGULATION

Triangulation of data sources was a key research method used in analyzing the data. Denzin (1978) repeatedly argues that it is important that researchers examine a problem from as many different methodological perspectives as possible. He broadly defines triangulation as the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomena and contends that:

> ...multiple methods should be used in every investigation, since no method is ever free of rival causal factors (and thus leads to completely sound propositions), can ever completely reveal all the relevant features of empirical reality necessary for testing or developing a theory. (Denzin, 1987, p. 28).

It is important to mention here that triangulation is not limited to the use of data. According to Denzin (1978) it can involve a variety of observers or investigators, theorists or perspectives, and methodologies all in pursuit of addressing the same theoretical question. In explaining the data, triangulation which is applicable to this study, he stated that, "researchers explicitly search for as many different data sources as possible which bear upon the events under analysis." (Denzin, 1978, p. 295).

In general, it is assumed that multiple methods increase the accuracy of the research findings (Bowchard, 1976; Denzin, 1978; Jick, 1979). In support of the use of triangulation, Jick (1979) suggests that this research strategy:

> ...can be something other than scaling, reliability, and convergent validation. It can also capture a more complete, holistic and contextual portrayal of the unit(s) under study. That is, beyond the analysis of overlapping variance, the use of multiple measures may also uncover some unique variance which otherwise may have been neglected by simple methods. It is here that qualitative methods, in particular, can play an especially prominent role by eliciting data and suggesting conclusions to which other methods would be blind. Elements of the context are illuminated. In this sense, triangulation may be used not only to examine the same phenomenon from multiple perspective, but also enrich our understanding by allowing for new deeper dimensions to emerge. (Jick, 1979, p. 603).

Jick (1979) goes on to identify the use of triangulation as the basis of the opportunities it provides the researcher:

(a) achieve higher levels of confidence in the results;

(b) stimulate the creation of inventive methods of data collection and analysis;

(c) uncover the deviant dimensions of a phenomenon;

(d) enrich explanation of the research results and;

(e) serve as a critical test for competing theories.

Notwithstanding these advantages, Jick (1979) identified two main shortcomings of the method of which the researcher should be aware:

(a) replication is difficult;

(b) the strategy may not be suitable to all research purposes. Funding and time constraints may prevent its effectiveness.

In the study, it was necessary to create an accurate picture to identify the issues that led to educational expansion and to critically examine whether or not there was a relationship between educational expansion and secondary school leaver unemployment. Triangulation of the various data sources was employed in order to ensure that the different perspectives were represented as accurately as possible and that the researcher could obtain a good understanding of the issues under study. Triangulation enabled the researcher to examine what documents reveal about youth unemployment in Zimbabwe and compare it to how the people in positions of authority from relevant government ministries and departments and private organizations responded. In fact, what respondents said augmented the documented data and as mentioned earlier in this chapter, it was possible to probe interviewees if more information and/or clarification were needed.

E. DELIMITATIONS

The rationale for restricting the study between 1979 - 1989 is as follows:

(1) 1979 is important as it serves as a basis for comparison since it is a year before independence which had a colonial educational system prior to the educational expansion.

(2) The educational expansion program was launched in 1980--the year of the independence. So, 1980 is the base year from which the study begins the investigation on educational expansion. It is interesting and looks promising from the researcher's point of view to focus attention on the launching and implementation of the Educational Expansion program and how it has affected unemployment situations during a well-planned period (1980-89). Thus it would be more productive than a piecemeal research effort for a non-planned period. Further data for the study period were sufficiently available in comparison with any other period of study either before 1979 (which is likely to be distorted because of the political situation then) or after 1986 (as being so recent) and therefore not yet fully documented.

For precision and clarity, the study was limited to:

(a) A study of the introduction and implementation of the Educational Expansion program and the extent to which it relates to youth unemployment and focuses on black school leavers as information pertaining to white secondary school leavers was not available to the researcher.

(b) A review of educational expansion policies and programs, organization and administration.

(c) An analysis and interpretation of official documents on such issues as planning strategy, policy framework and their outcomes and their effectiveness as far as employment opportunities are concerned.

Since the strategy of implementation of the Educational Expansion program has been theoretically uniform in all provinces, limiting the study to Harare which has all head offices of relevant government departments and employer's organizations did not affect the intent of the study.

F. LIMITATIONS

A study of this kind needs a considerable amount of time to enable one to obtain a deeper insight into the problem(s) under investigation.

Also, because the research was mainly conducted in government departments, bureaucracy and red tape tended to slow down the process. As a result of this problem, secondary data had to be used extensively. The use of secondary data also had its limitations. The data were often disjointed and in many cases, only estimated figures were available.

Again, owing to financial as well as time constraints, some of the most exciting dimensions of this research approach had to be foregone. A semi-structured interview guide and observation checklist had to be used to supplement the more informal dialogue with the respondents.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

Since the initial phases of development efforts in the post war period when most of the African countries attained political independence from their respective metropoles, the ideology of rapid industrialization and social modernization assigned education a crucial role (Harbison and Myers, 1964). For development to take hold, these countries needed to increase manpower resources to manage government and economic institutions, to adopt and generate modern production technology in the factories, mines, farms, and to provide the basic services in the fields of health, education and social welfare.

The 1961 Addis Ababa Conference was convened at a time when Human Capital Theory was emerging as the dominant theory and panacea for economic growth. It is, therefore, not surprising that the influence of Human Capital Theory is evident in the recommendations adopted by the Addis Ababa Conference; namely, that universal free primary education should be a reality by 1980, and that similar provisions be extended to secondary education in the subsequent decade. As a result, education policies of most African countries have in turn reflected both the conference recommendations which largely rested on Human Capital considerations. These policies were aimed at, and resulted in rapid massive educational expansion at the primary and secondary levels. The road to universal free primary education and unrestrained access to secondary education has not been an easy one for most African countries. However, Zimbabwe has, by and large successfully achieved these recommendations within a remarkably short period.

However, it is important to mention here that even though there were critiques of Human Capital Theory by 1980, and even though the government of Zimbabwe is following the Marxist-Leninist principles, the trend of educational expansion seems to follow along the Human Capital Theory line of argument. Maybe this is because Eastern development theories are premised on the same belief in the role of industrialization and education in development.

As mentioned in Chapter one, this study is aimed at examining and analyzing the extent to which secondary educational expansion in Zimbabwe is related to the country's employment opportunities. It does so by examining increases in the numbers of secondary school enrollments and the numbers of secondary school graduates who are entering the job market in relation to employment, unemployment and underemployment. The study also seeks to look into the growth in the labour market for secondary school graduates and whether or not that growth was sufficient to accommodate the output of the expanded educational system. Examining enrollments, entrants into the job market and growth in the labour market should throw light on whether the expansion of

secondary education contributed to increased underemployment and unemployment amongst the secondary school leavers.
This chapter then concentrates on the empirical data as they relate to educational expansion, growth of the labour market and labour policies and youth unemployment.

In order to appreciate the reasons behind the educational expansion in Zimbabwe, it is important to mention at the onset, Zimbabwe's educational goals.

B. EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION

(a) Policy

Gross inequalities in the provision and access to education together with the political economic and land grievances provided the centerpiece that precipitated the liberation struggle which eventually led to the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980. During the liberation struggle, the liberation movements (ZANU and ZAPU) experimented with several educational innovations and drew up ambitious educational plans which have become the blue print for the development of education in Zimbabwe today. Educational goals for Zimbabwe have since been made responsive to the majority aspirations for greater access to education as evidenced by government attempts to redress colonial inequalities and extend educational opportunities to the black majority. Major educational goals and reform, particularly those that have direct influence on equality of opportunity include:

(1) The right to education for all citizens;

(2) Free and compulsory primary education and uninhibited access to secondary education;

(3) The development of a non-racial attitude among the youths and the creation of a national identity and loyalty;

(4) Basic rights to literacy and adult education for all adults, and;

(5) The inculcation of respect for labour among learners.

The adoption of these and other educational goals as state policy has resulted in unprecedented educational expansion at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

(b) Organization

Zimbabwe as a professed socialist state runs a centralized education system that is based on the principles of equality of educational opportunity and general national egalitarianism. Ironically, a remarkably wide spectrum of school types exists ranging from the poorest schools which lack the barest minimum of facilities such as the case with some farm schools to the most expensive, elitist and exotic schools characterized by the so-called "independent" schools. This array portrays a fascinating picture of financial inequality that reflects on the discrepant financial resources of the responsible authorities and of the parents. Schools in Zimbabwe are classified as either government or non-government but, all schools must be registered by meeting minimum standards laid down from time to time by the Ministry of Education.

According to this classification, government schools are established and wholly maintained by the state. These schools receive the greatest subsidy from government. In 1986 there were 270 government primary schools and 192 government secondary schools in the country out of a total of 4,297 primary and 1,484 secondary schools, respectively (Ministry of Education, 1989). Government schools are further subclassified as either belonging to group A or B so that the overall picture for 1986 is as follows:

Group A Primary	110 Schools
Group B Primary	160 Schools
Group A Secondary	34 Schools
Group B Secondary	153 Schools

Group A schools are former whites-only schools while group B used to cater for blacks. Group A schools continue to enjoy better facilities than group B schools. According to Gombe (1985) and Mudzi (1985), group A schools have superior facilities, better qualified and experienced teachers, low teacher-pupil ratio and higher per-pupil expenditure than group B schools. In addition, group A schools get more community financial support because they are located in generally very affluent residential areas that were reserved for whites prior to independence.

Non-government schools which comprise a majority of schools in the country encompass a wide variety of "private" schools ranging from farm schools to independent schools. In 1986, for example, there were 1,292 registered non-government secondary schools, out of a total of 1,484 secondary schools (Ministry of Education, 1989), thus, showing that more than 92% of schools in the country were run by authorities other than government. A majority of non government schools are owned by District Councils, which are corporate bodies set up by government in each of the 55 districts in Zimbabwe and charged with the responsibility of improving the welfare of their districts. These District Councils were set up in 1970.

The second largest group of non-government schools are mission schools which enjoyed a monopoly over African education prior to the setting up of District Councils. A third category of non government schools include independent schools comprising some thirty schools. These independent schools are private and do not get any subsidy from Government. Others include those managed and run by multi national corporations (e.g. Anglo American, Lonrho, etc.) commercial farmers, minority nationalities and even individuals. In other words, in the formal educational sector, primary and secondary education is run by the above mentioned three principal authorities. The government and church organizations are responsible for teacher education. Technical colleges are at the moment a monopoly of the government, while university education remains semi-autonomous.

(i) Primary Education

Table 4.1 shows the number of primary schools and enrollment by year before independence. This seems important since it makes a comparison between what the situation was like before independence and what has happened with regard to education expansion after independence.

TABLE 4.1 Number of Primary Schools and Enrollment by Year

Year	Number of Schools	Enrollment
1970	3,408	711,182
1971	3,417	679,137
1972	3,403	736,519
1973	3,449	774,774
1974	3,454	817,213
1975	3,446	850,521
1976	3,469	867,132
1977	3,510	875,208
1978	2,961	810,991

SOURCE: Ministry of Education, 1979

The Table shows an insignificant increase in enrollment of 14% between 1970 and 1978, especially when compared to increases in enrollment after independence.

Fluctuations in enrollment figures during this period 1970-1978, can be explained by the intensity of the liberation war. Some schools had to be closed down and others were destroyed. Some students had to stop their studies to join the war.

Table 4.1 also shows a dramatic drop of 549 schools from the 1977 figure of 3,510 to 2,961 in 1978. This is the period when the liberation war intensified and these schools were either closed down or destroyed as mentioned above.

Immediately after independence, primary education was made tuition free. Due to this policy, primary education witnessed unprecedented levels of expansion. After independence the task facing the Government of Zimbabwe was two-fold: reconstruction of war damaged schools and the construction of new buildings and institutions. The number of primary schools increased from 2,401 in 1979 to 3,689 in 1981, an expansion of 53% in just two years. By 1984, the number of primary schools had risen to 4,505, an increase of 88% in five years (see Table 4.2).

TABLE 4.2 Number of Primary Schools and Enrollment by Year

YEAR	NO.OF SCHOOLS	ENROLLMENT
1979	2,401	819,586
1980	3,161	1,235,994
1981	3,689	1,715,169
1982	3,880	1,907,225
1983	3,960	2,044,487
1984	4,161	2,132,304
1985	4,234	2,216,878
1986	4,297	2,265,053
1987	4,439	2,251,319
1988	4,471	2,212,103
1989	4,504	2,268,961

SOURCE: Ministry of Education and Culture: Secretary's Annual Reports: 1979, 1989.

The expansion of primary schools, particularly in rural areas where most of the activity was taking place, was made possible by the government's call to the nation to become self-reliant and to contribute towards the reconstruction program. It was also made possible by the dedicated and tireless efforts of parents who knew only too well that universal primary education declared by the government was a most potent tool for the development and full actualization of the child's potential as it prepared him/her for life and for productive participation in the social and economic activities of the whole community later on in life.

As mentioned in chapter one, the advent of political independence in 1980, led to profound changes in enrollment patterns. The primary education cycle in Zimbabwe lasts seven years. In 1979, there were 819,586 children enrolled in primary school. By 1982, the number rose to 1,907,225, an increase of 133% in just two years (see Table 4.2). Enrollments in primary schools continued to increase until a peak of 2,265,053 was reached in 1986. By 1989, primary enrollments had increased to 2,268,961 an expansion of 277% in ten years. This represents over 95% of the corresponding school age population. Primary education is not terminal, about 80% of primary school leavers proceed to formal secondary education. The remainder join non-formal education (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1990).

(ii) Expansion of Secondary Education

Again it is important to look at the number of secondary schools and enrollment prior to independence in order to appreciate the extent of the educational expansion at the secondary level after independence.

TABLE 4.3 Summary of Government Group A, Government Group B and Private Secondary Schools

Year	No. of Schools	Enrollment
1970	190	49,550
1971	191	52,916
1972	196	57,087
1973	202	60,520
1974	205	63,030
1975	203	66,910
1976	208	69,137
1977	211	70,990
1978	190	71,211

SOURCE: Ministry of Education, 1979

Thus Table 4.3 gives a summary of Government Group A, Government Group B and Privates School Enrollment and number of schools before independence.

Note that these three types of schools are taken together in aggregate. Disaggregated enrollment information would have been useful since quantitative and qualitative differences exist according to the type of school. Also, the rate of growth of enrollment in each group would have been relevant information. Unfortunately, this breakdown was not available to the researcher. However, despite the fact that exact numbers according to each school type were not available, Group B Schools have the least number of qualified teachers.

Table 4.3 and 4.4 show that the educational expansion which took place at the secondary level after independence is tremendous. For example there were only 71,211 students enrolled in secondary schools in 1978 as compared to 641,055 students in

1988. The number of schools after independence also increased significantly, that is, from 190 schools in 1978 to 1,484 in 1988.

TABLE 4.4 Number of Secondary Schools

Enrollment by Year

YEAR	NO. OF SCHOOLS	ENROLLMENT
1979	177	66,215
1980	197	74,321
1981	694	148,690
1982	738	227,647
1983	790	316,438
1984	1,182	416,413
1985	1,215	482,000
1986	1,76	537,427
1987	1,395	604,652
1988	1,484	641,055
1989	1,502	646,756

SOURCE: Ministry of Education and Culture: Secretary's Annual Reports 1979, 1989.

Again the exact number of schools according to each school type was not available to the researcher. However, at independence the majority of new secondary schools were built in the rural areas as day schools under the management of District Councils. The established schools were required to increase their enrollments and Government Group B Schools instituted double sessioning.

Secondary education is extremely significant in Zimbabwe. It is not only terminal for the majority of students who enroll in secondary schools, but also controls access to colleges and universities and thus the better paying jobs in the modern sector. Secondary education is divided into three stages. The first two years lead to an internal junior certificate examination which is not terminal. The second two years end with 'O' level examination, and are terminal for the majority of pupils in secondary school. This study is focused on these students who leave school after four years of secondary education. The last two years lead to 'A' level examinations for a relatively small number of students who will be preparing for entry into university.

Despite the fact that secondary education is not free or (in the sense that students pay fees according to the type of school they attend, for example, Group A Schools are high fee paying and Group B Schools are low fee paying) compulsory, the growth which has taken place at this level (the four year secondary), since independence can only be described as phenomenal. In 1979, there were only 177 secondary schools with 66,215 students. By 1981, the number of schools had increased to 694 with enrollment of 148,690. This represents an expansion of 225%. This trend has continued and by 1989, there were 1,502 secondary schools with an enrollment of 646,756, representing an expansion of 977% (see Table 4.4). It is clear then, from the above figures that we have large number of students who complete secondary education and who will be competing for a limited number of jobs in the modern sector.

Government priority in expanding education was to increase access to education in rural areas where about 90% of the population live, and where education had been severely neglected by previous colonial governments. This policy has led to greater government participation in the provision of education in rural areas as the government established, for the first time, secondary government schools in rural areas so that by 1981 there were forty rural government day secondary schools where previously there were none. Government participation also involved the setting of schools, provision and/or approval of construction plans, learning materials and teaching personnel. In addition, the 1982 - 1983 financial year capital investment into rural areas amounted to U.S. $13.75 million compared to U.S. $0.6 million for urban schools (Zimbabwe Ministry of Education, 1983). Previous (colonial) government policy was to build government schools in urban areas only.

(c) Financing of Education

As mentioned earlier, government attempts to equalize educational opportunities and reduce disparities between former white and black education systems resulted in the introduction of free tuition and equal government subsidy for all primary schools. This unwavering commitment to free and compulsory primary education along with the uninhibited access to secondary education and open access to tertiary education as well as government pledge on adult literacy resulted in massive increase in expenditures on education.

In Table 4.5, over the ten year period, one sees a steady growth in absolute dollars spent on education from year to year. But equally important, one notices a clear decline in the proportion of the national budget allocated to education. After 1981/82, there develops a more or less steady pattern of education losing its relative position in national budgetary allocation. Despite this decline in the proportion of the national budget, in absolute dollars and from various studies, education is still a very large item of Government's expenditure. For example, it took more than 23% of the 1989/90 budget, an increase of 6.2% from the 1988/89 figure of 16.8% (Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development).

This shows government's commitment in its efforts to provide education for all.

TABLE 4.5 Government Financing in Education

FINANCIAL YEAR	AMOUNT ALLOCATED TO EDUCATION (Z$000S)	% OF NATIONAL BUDGET	ALLOCATION FOR PRIMARY (Z$000S)	ALLOCATION FOR SECONDARY (Z$000S)	TEACHER EDUCATION (Z$000S)
1980/1	218,688	18.1%	146,214	54,764	5,949
1981/2	316,508	18.8%	198,049	77,032	9,476
1982/3	408,743	17.7%	259,706	92,414	11,126
1983/4	592,628	16.%	302,199	130,253	12,126
1984/5	516,765	14%	306,169	135,383	16,231
1985/6	639,919	16.5%	360,982	181,458	21,605
1986/7	704,510	15.7%	419,179	223,827	27,958
1987/8	783,966	15.1%	435,495	236,498	30,780
1988/9	1,066,837	16.8%	550,518	309,620	30,776

SOURCE: Ministry of Education and Culture, 1990

The above figures would be appreciated more when compared to Health which has also become one of the government's priorities. With the advent of Independence in 1980, the Zimbabwe government resolved to eliminate the severely imbalanced health service (as was the case with education) which had dominated the country's colonial past. Government adopted Equity in Health as its policy foundation, and vowed to redress past inequities through the development of non-racial, integrated and comprehensive national health care system.

In spite of this committment, in 1980, the budget awarded only Z$54 million to health as compared to Z$219 million which was allocated to education. In 1985 Z$187 million was allocated to health as compared to Z$640 million for education (Zimbabwe at Work, 1987).

Although the provision of education in Zimbabwe is a cooperative effort involving central government, local government authorities and private agencies, such as churches and related organizations; central government financial support for education is provided to both government and non-government education institutions.

Government commitment to equalize educational opportunities has so far resulted in unprecedented educational expansion and committed massive expenditure on education. Education continues to receive a very large share of government revenue not only because education is seen by government as a vehicle for social and economic transformation, but most important because of sustained aspirations and expectations of the majority blacks who had been previously denied education before independence. Government commitment to education together with its policy of balanced public investment in other public services such as water resources, health, roads and road services (which compete with education for a share of the scarce resources) compelled government to look for and accept alternative ways of funding public education such as community support. It can also be rightly argued that Zimbabwe has reached a point where the social returns on its educational expenditure were too little (as evidenced by high levels of secondary school leaver unemployment) and the money could have been used on such ventures as job creation.

However, while Zimbabwe has undoubtedly made remarkable progress toward the equality of educational opportunity through universalization and expansion of education, serious shortcomings are being encountered particularly in the areas of equity and educational resources which are extremely important, but which also are beyond the scope of this study.

However, as for equity, it may be important to mention briefly that in the development of mass education the system has created a de facto situation in which the recently established rural secondary schools, for example, are producing pupils with academic achievement considerably lower than of those who are the products from other types of schools. They are thus disadvantaged to a greater extent in terms of competing equally for the rewards that society has to offer (Dorsey, 1989). Clearly this situation taken in isolation is contrary to the government's stated intention of creating equality of access to education resources.

It is also a fact that achievement at O-level governs entry to higher academic and technical training and consequently, to the better paid and prestigious jobs in the modern sector of the economy.

It might be argued, therefore, that what is emerging is an expanded replication of the pre-independence educational structure, highly differentiated in quality and highly stratified in terms of the life-chance benefits conferred on different sectors of the society. Education continues to be assigned an allocative role in social placement, a function from which it is unlikely to escape. Quality differentiation between schools is also unlikely to disappear in the near future, and this social differentiation will continue to be linked to a degree with the social location of the parents concerned. It can, however, be confidently asserted that significant advances have been made in certain aspects toward the egalitarian goal. For instance, the rigidly ascriptive racial component of the system's past have given way to elitist dimensions of a more class-like character, although these dimensions may be similarly tenacious in their inegalitarian impact but also more mutable and more responsive to changes in the power structures of the society (Dorsey, 1985).

The rapidity and scope of the changes effected has furthermore created a sense of participation in both the students and parents involved in the system with the promise of greater relevance and pragmatism. Finally, in its impressive growth, the system has become the vehicle for the self-actualization of a new generation of Zimbabweans, and this provides the educational context for a potentially more egalitarian future for the society.

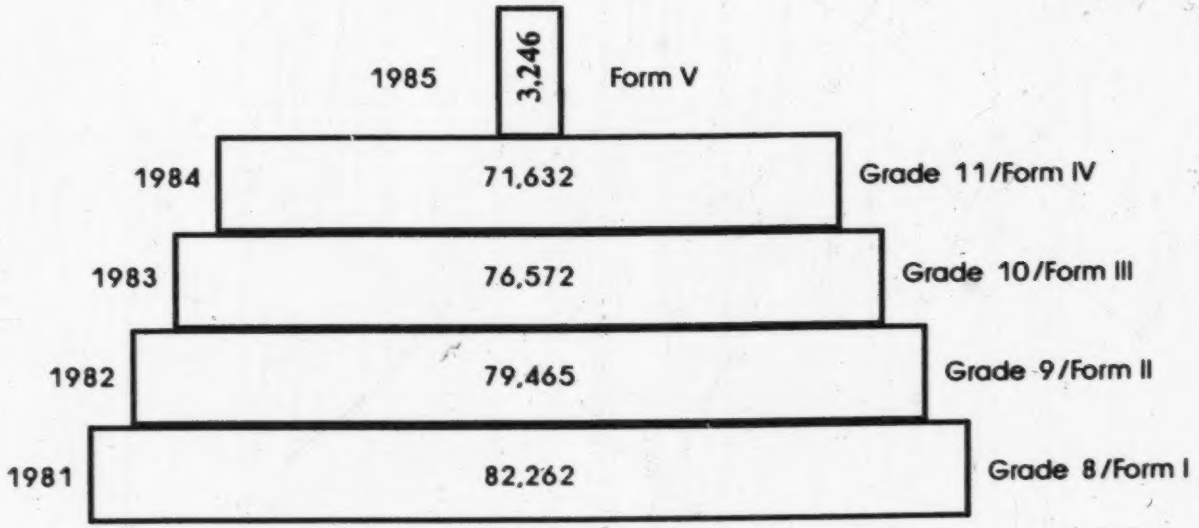
However, the next section of this chapter will examine one of the resultant features of the educational expansion, namely, the school leaver explosion.

C. THE SCHOOL LEAVER EXPLOSION

A major resultant problem facing Zimbabwe is that for a great majority of those who finish four years of secondary education, there are neither guaranteed further education nor employment opportunities. In other words, since, educational expansion ends at Form IV Level, the majority of school leavers find themselves competing for limited wage employment opportunities.

Figure 4.1 shows secondary school enrollments by grade and year. The pyramidal structure attempts to show that from Form 1 to Form IV, there are drop-outs who are supposedly looking for employment a situation that becomes very dramatic as we move from Form IV to Form V where students need to obtain a required standard of pass to qualify to get into Form V. Essentially, in 1981 there were 82,262 students who enrolled in Form I of whom only 22,578 managed to get into Form V or other educational programs in 1985, showing that only 27.4% managed to go further in their education. This big gap that is noticeable between Form IV and Form V reveals that a large proportion of residuals have to compete for wage employment because the educational system cannot absorb them for further advancement after four years of secondary education.

Figure 4.1
Retention of 1981 Form 1 Cohort in School
(1981 - 1985)

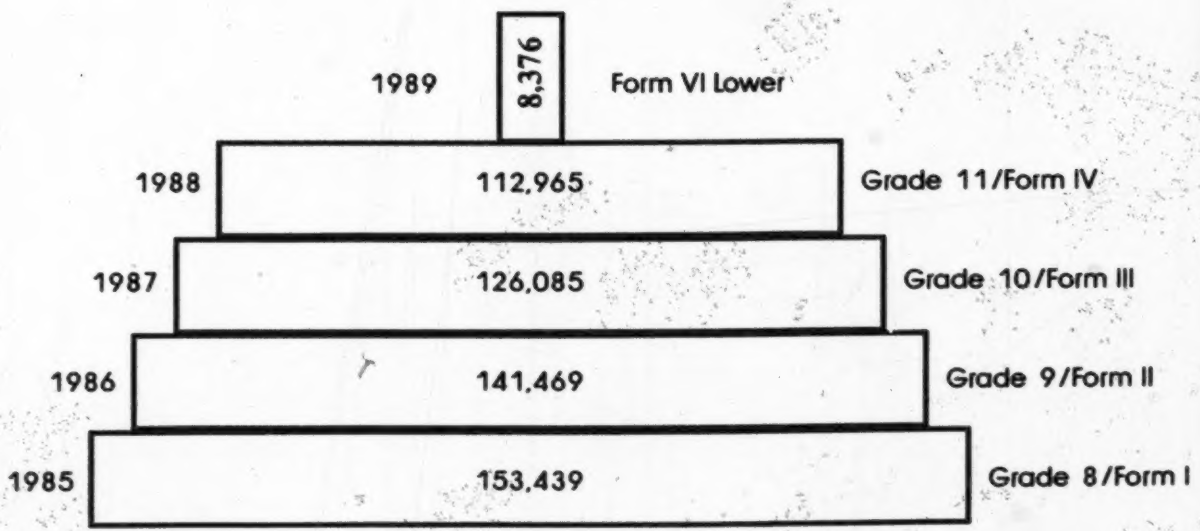


Source: Central Statistical Office (1989). Quarterly Digest of Statistics, Harare, Zimbabwe (March). p. 9.

Figure 4.2 shows that the problem of school leaver explosion gets worse as years go by. Of the 153,439 students who enrolled in Form I in 1985, only 141,467 went into Form II indicating that 11,970 dropped out of school. And, of the 141,469 who were in Form II in 1983, only 126,085 went further with their education, showing a figure of 15,384 dropouts. Figure 4.2 also reveals that the situation gets worse as students complete Form IV since at that stage they have to qualify to get into Form V or training colleges. Of the 112,965 who completed Form IV in 1988, only 8,376 went into Form VI lower. This shows the magnitude of the problem of four year secondary school leavers. Over 140,000 jobs would be required to accommodate the school leavers in this cohort alone. Of course, previous and subsequent cohorts also require jobs for school leavers.

However, the magnitude of the school leavers problem is better understood after an examination of the growth in the labour market which shall be dealt with in the next section of this chapter.

Figure 4.2
Retention of 1985 Form 1 Cohort in School
(1985 - 1989)



Source: Central Statistical Office (1989). Quarterly Digest of Statistics, Harare, Zimbabwe (March), p. 9.

D. GROWTH OF THE LABOUR MARKET AND YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

1. Historical Development of Labour Supplies in Zimbabwe

Unfortunately, historical information on the labour force participation and unemployment as relating to four year secondary school leavers was not available for this study since there had never been a labour force survey in Zimbabwe until 1986 - 1987.

However, an examination of the historical development of labour supplies is important since it gives us an appreciation of the origins of wage employment in Zimbabwe. It also shows the type and quality of education that Africans received and hence the type of employment they could get. The history is also important for revealing how education gradually became a requisite for formal employment, a factor which still plays a big role in the present employment situation.

The history of labour migration began in 1890 when the Pioneer Column entered the area and established the present capital Harare (Salisbury). The colonial territory provided the resource base and a supply of raw materials and unskilled labour while the economic activity was to be fostered and controlled primarily by white settlers and locally based companies which would provide the requisite capital, technology, management and skills for rapid progress.

In the early years of occupation between 1890-1903, the dream of a second Witwatersrand, fueled by the legend of the gold of the Ancient Monomotapa, led to intense mining activities. This caused a high demand for labour (Arrighi, 1970). The development of European agriculture and the removal of the Africans from their land between 1904-1923 further increased the demand for jobs.

The segregation of European and African agriculture between 1923-1945 played a big part in creating labour because the African peasants were forced to settle in the "African Native Lands" which constituted land of the poorest quality compared to what was given to European settlers. Hence, these people had to seek wage employment to supplement their incomes. In 1923, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) was granted an internal self-government. The importance of land then became a political issue. There were calls for the segregation of land between races - the Morris Commission of 1925 proposed such a division. It was also suggested that areas should be set aside as native purchase areas where progressive African farmers could purchase land, the expressed purpose was the development of a "Yeomanry" class. In 1931, the proposals of the Commission became legal in the Land Apportionment Act which institutionalized the racial division of all land in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). This act, which became the Charter of White Rhodesians further disadvantaged the African peasant cultivators. The land allocated as purchase areas were in remote low lying areas in the very north and south of the countAy. Of the allocated, more than 50% was hardly suited to agricultural production because of its ecological condition, the presence of tsetseflies and distance from the market (Palmer, 1968; pp. 42-43).

The further movement of Africans into the reserves caused land shortages to become rapidly apparent and forced people to seek wage employment.

> In 1926, it was observed that 'several reserves' were becoming 'overcrowded'; in 1928, general overstocking was reported especially in Matebeleland; and in 1932, the first symptoms of 'a vicious and expanding circle of destruction' was detected (Arrighi, 1970).

By 1943, it was estimated that 62 of the 98 Reserves were over-populated (19 were carrying more than double the acceptable level) (Ibid., p. 215).

In the late 1930s another element in the development of labour supplies became apparent. As the population came to be dependent on wage labour, the advantage conferred on migrants (migration from the reserves) by education resulted in the growing interest in formal schooling; education became necessary. In 1938, literacy education and character training were placed as high priorities to be achieved in African education. The belief here was that this type of education was essential in order to ensure that the Africans who came to seek employment in the service of the Europeans were adequately trained in moral and religious values.

The discrimination levelled against the African peasant farmer did not end with his disadvantageous position vis-a-vis the land. In 1930, the government monopolized the marketing of maize and introduced a two-price system which protected small European producers and discriminated against Africans; discriminatory practices were also introduced in the marketing of cattle (Arrighi, 1970, p. 218). The development of infrastructure such as roads was grossly biased towards European areas thus the producers in the reserves were further disadvantaged because of the distance to consumption centres and their lack of communication. Even the introduction of motor transport did little to help because of the lack of suitable roads. Between 1939 and 1945, only one-fortieth of the total Government expenditure on agriculture was spent on African agriculture (Arrighi, 1970).

The growth of European capitalist agriculture continued with considerable pace, the re-investable surplus of European farmers, the improvement of farming techniques and the introduction of new innovations based on extensive research were significant factors. Thus,as more blacks were expelled from white areas, they were subjected to carry out farming on very poor soils and little chance of improving their productivity. Their only chance then was to migrate to seek wage employment.

In 1958, there were 3,390,000 blacks of whom 652,000 were employed (see Table 4.6). The table also shows that agriculture, forestry occupations and domestic service, the lowest paid occupations and requiring the least education, accounted for 52.7% of all employed blacks. The annual pay for blacks in that period was Rh. $104 for agriculture and forestry, while that for domestics (cooks, gardeners, personal attendants) was Rh. $176 (Kumbula, 1979).

Ten years later in 1968, and three years after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), with the right -wing Rhodesian Front in power, the situation had not changed for the better. Table 4.6 shows that there were altogether 693,000 employed blacks, showing a growth rate of only 6%. Agriculture, forestry and domestic service accounted for 55.4 of the total labour force. The table also indicates that there was a drop of 1,100 employees in electricity and water in 1968 from the 1958 figures of 5,200 to 4,100.

TABLE 4.6 Black Employment in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) 1958 and 1968

Type of Work	Number of Employed 1958	1968
Agriculture and Forestry Service	253,000	282,000
Domestic Services	90,900	102,000
Manufacturing	70,600	82,000
Mining and Quarrying	57,100	48,400
Public Administration and Education	34,100	48,600
Electricity and Water Related Jobs	5,200	4,100
Health Services	4,300	7,200
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	1,400	2,500
Construction	65,200	36,100
Hotels, Distribution and Restaurants	42,100	43,400
Transport and Communications	14,300	15,800
Other Jobs	13,800	20,700

SOURCE: Rhodesia, Monthly Digest of Statistics, p. 11, 1974.

In order to fully appreciate the present employment/ unemployment situation in Zimbabwe, it is important to look at the extent of the economic growth to see whether it has the capacity to create new jobs.

2. Economic Growth

The Second World War, the election of the nationalist government in South Africa in 1948, the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953, the unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in 1965, and the consequent imposition of international economic sanctions and the liberation war are some of the major political events which have significantly influenced the economic development of Zimbabwe in the last four decades. It is the economic developments since 1965, however, which are most relevant in analyzing the current structure and performance of the economy and its prospects for the labour market.

The immediate economic impact of the imposition of international economic sanctions on Rhodesia was to reduce the real rate of economic growth. This was, however, short-lived as the economy took off in 1967 and grew rapidly at an average real rate of growth of 7.5% until 1974. This growth performance was achieved through an economic strategy of diversification and substitution in both the agricultural and manufacturing sectors which aimed mainly at saving foreign exchange. Among the significant structural developments were the increase in the share of the manufacturing sector in GDP; a fall in the scale of the agricultural sector in GDP; and a significant reduction in the proportion of imports of final goods along with an increase in that of capital goods (Annual Economic Review of Zimbabwe, 1981). Most of this growth and development was restricted to the modern sector while the rural peasant sector either stagnated or declined. The increase in the share of a relatively capital-intensive manufacturing sector along with the existence of factor price ratios biased towards capital intensity led to increased capital intensity in the economy. As a result, the growth of employment was less than could have been expected.

The tightening of economic sanctions, the lagged but cumulative effects of the war, the impact of the increase in oil prices after the 1973 oil crisis and the impact of the ensuing recession in western economies, and the relative and absolute substitution accounted for the recession which began in 1975 and bottomed out in the latter half of 1978. Some of the major features characterizing the recession were: a decline in employment, a significant decline in the share of savings/investment in GDP which was made worse towards the end of the recession by the government deficit on recurrent expenditures; a significant damage to rural infrastructure resulting from the intensification of the war and the existence of a significant level of unused industrial capacity (Annual Economic Review of Zimbabwe, 1981).

The recovery from the recession which began in the latter half of 1978 did not gain much momentum until 1980--the year of independence. The attainment of political independence; the lifting of economic sanctions; the increase in foreign exchange allocations to importers consequent upon the increase in foreign exchange earnings; the surge in consumer demand; the existence of excess industrial capacity; the reduction in sales tax; the economic reconstruction and rehabilitation measures; all these are amongst the factors accounting for the impressive more than 9.4% real rate of growth in 1980 as against almost no real growth in 1979.

In spite of large increases in money supply, the rate of inflation (as measured by the tax exclusive consumer price index) was only 8.7% in 1980. Employment increased by only 2.2%, indicating, in part, a not insignificant adverse management reaction to wage increases which took place during the year. The cessation of the war only caused a small decrease in the security budget which was more than offset by the increase in expenditures in social services (education, health, etc.). The government budget deficit on recurrent expenditures increased substantially (Annual Economic Review, 1981).

Agriculture has played a pivotal role in the economic survival and development of post-independent Zimbabwe.

It has long been recognized as the backbone of the nation's economy, and has maintained this dominant position throughout the crucial 1986 - 1990 Five Year Development Plan period. Both small and large-scale agriculture plays a vital role in the economy in ensuring the nation's self-sufficiency in food and raw materials, which earn much needed foreign currency and create employment. Agriculture currently provides Zimbabwe with more than 90% of its food requirements, and accounts for 41% of total merchandise exports.

In recent years, Zimbabwe's agriculture has shown impressive development, marked particularly by the success of government's thrust to include small-scale commercial farmers and communal farmers in the national agricultural effort. Prior to independence, much of the meaningful development was directed to the primarily white-owned, large-scale commercial farming sector (Zimbabwe at Work, 1987).

3. The Labour Market

The productive sectors of the economy--namely, agriculture manufacturing and mining--have always been the major employers of labour, creators of wealth and employment. However, trends in the socio-economic development of Zimbabwe indicate that employment in agriculture has continued to decline mainly because of more efficient use of current labour and the fact that agriculture is highly mechanized. In other words, farmers are making more use of technology in place of people. Also, labour policies which do not allow the employer to fire a worker without ministerial approval and the minimum wage for this sector, which is relatively high, contribute to this decline in employment. Agriculture employed 327,000 in 1980 and an average of 276,400 in 1985, indicating a decline of 53,000 employees. (See Table 4.7).

The table shows that in mining, employment has shown an increase between 1970 and 1981 and a decline thereafter. For example, in 1981, there were 68,200 employees as compared to 55,800 in March, 1987. Employment trends in manufacturing indicate a dramatic increase from 76,700 in 1964 as compared to 156,000 in 1975 and then a gradual rise to around 177,800 in December 1986 and 180,100 in 1987 (Zimbabwe Ministry of Industry and Technology, 1989). The sector produces 24% of GDP in 1989, very much higher than the average in sub-Saharan Africa. It is also responsible for 16% of formal sector employment. It grew very rapidly during the period of enforced protection, Unilateral Declaration of Independence, (UDI), and developed during that time a reputation for ingenuity in adaptation, repair and maintenance, much of which has survived till the present. Indeed it could be argued that the severity of the foreign exchange crisis over the past years has reinforced these tendencies acquired prior to Independence (Kenneth King, 1989). Clearly, economic history the world over shows that employment in other productive sectors of the economy will either remain stagnant or tend to decline over time with the adoption of improved techniques of production. The manufacturing sector tends to have the means and possibilities of expanding employment with greater industrialization in the long run (Zimbabwe Ministry of Industry and Technology, 1989).

Table 4.7

Employees by Industrial Sector (in thousands)

									Services								
Annual Average	Agri-culture, Forestry, Fishing	Mining, Quarry-ing	Manu-fac-turing	Electri-city, Water	Con-struc-tion	Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	Distri-bution, Restau-rants/ Hotels	Trans-port, Com-munica-tions	Public Adminis-tration	Educa-tion	Health	Private, Domestic	Other	SUBTOTAL Minus Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	TOTAL	Growth Rate	New Jobs
1970	297.8	57.2	114.7	5.6	42.4	9.0	65.6	36.5	39.0	31.0	10.7	109.3	43.5	555.5	853.3		
1975	363.8	62.6	156.0	6.9	60.8	60.8	77.3	48.9	48.9	36.0	13.5	124.1	42.9	686.4	1,050.2	18.7%	196.9
1976	356.1	63.8	153.6	6.7	51.6	51.6	74.7	53.8	53.8	36.9	13.5	122.8	42.1	677.3	1,033.4	1.6%	16.8
1977	348.2	61.6	145.1	6.6	46.5	46.5	72.5	60.6	60.6	36.6	14.5	120.0	42.3	664.0	1,012.2	2.0%	21.2
1978	341.4	58.1	139.3	6.5	40.9	40.9	69.1	68.3	68.3	34.9	14.7	115.9	41.1	644.8	986.2	2.6%	26.0
1979	335.2	59.5	144.7	6.6	40.6	40.6	67.6	73.7	73.7	33.8	14.8	110.4	42.3	649.5	984.7	0.0%	1.5
1980	327.0	66.2	159.4	6.7	42.4	12.5	70.3	45.6	71.1	41.9	15.2	108.0	43.8	682.9	1,009.9	2.4%	25.2
1981	294.3	68.2	173.2	6.6	47.1	13.8	75.0	49.1	83.2	59.1	16.3	104.6	47.3	743.4	1,037.7	2.6%	27.8
1982	274.3	63.7	180.5	6.5	51.1	14.6	79.8	50.4	81.3	71.8	18.9	101.4	51.7	771.6	1,045.9	0.0%	8.2
1983	263.5	60.3	173.4	6.9	49.3	15.8	80.6	49.6	82.5	78.2	19.0	54.5	54.5	769.9	1,033.4	0.1%	12.5
1984	271.2	54.5	166.3	7.3	45.3	15.7	80.2	50.1	88.9	83.8	19.9	98.0	55.2	765.2	1,036.4	0.3%	3.0
1985	276.4*	54.2	169.6	7.7	44.8	15.3	78.3	50.0	90.8	89.8	19.7	98.6	59.6	780.9	1,057.3	0.6%	7.0
1986		54.9	176.9	8.1	47.4	15.3	81.2	50.6	90.7	95.6	21.8	100.1	62.5	819.3		3.3%	28.1
1987*		56.4	176.2	8.2	48.9	16.8	82.9	50.7	94.2	98.6	21.1	100.9	61.6	816.2		0.3%	2.8

* Annual averages based on data for three quarters.

Source: Central Statistical Office (1989), Quarterly Digest of Statistics, Harare, Zimbabwe (March), p.9.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that however important industry may be to Zimbabwe, it has made little additional contribution to employment over the independence period. What little addition to formal employment there was came almost entirely from growth in the area of service employment (King, 1989). For example, the service sector employed 280,000 people in 1980 as compared to 358,500 in 1986, showing a growth rate of 28%. Secondly, the fact that industry is not working at full capacity is not mainly attributable to human resource constraints such as, lack of trained manpower or particular skills, shortages. One the several occasions when employers have been asked why they were not working at full capacity, they have pointed to shortages of imported materials, lack of export demand, lack of machine spare parts etc. The shortages of specialized skills have come very low down their lists (UNIDO, 1986, 201).

The sector for Private Domestic workers is one of the major employers. However, it is important to note that due to the education system which is still white-collar oriented, four-year secondary leavers would rather wait for the 'right' type of job than join the Domestic Service. Also, because of the government stipulated minimum wage, and some of the labour laws that do not work in favour of the employer (these will be discussed in the next section) it is most likely that employers will cut down on the number of domestic workers.

On the whole, Tables 4.7 and 4.8 confirm that with educational expansion after Independence, there are more secondary school leavers than there are new jobs and further education opportunities. Despite this general trend, in the initial years after independence there was rapid growth in jobs. For example, in 1981, there were 15,547 students in Form IV and training colleges, leaving 1,407 school leavers competing for the 27,800 jobs that were available (see Table 4.8)

The year, 1982, is significant in that more people who were in exile came back to the country during that year as compared to the first one and half years of independence. This included students who were studying in other countries and who had the qualifications to either go into Form V or training colleges. In other words, more people went into further studies compared to those who were looking for a job, hence a decline in the number of students needing a job (see Table 4.8). However, even if there was a decline of 549 students needing a job, the number of new jobs also dropped from 27,800 in 1981 to 8,200.

TABLE 4.8 Form IV Enrollments, Further Education and New Jobs (in thousands)

YEAR	FORM IV LEAVERS IN PRECEDING YEAR	FORM V & *TRAINING COLLEGES	STUDENTS NEEDING A JOB (Column 1 - 2)	NEW JOBS
1971	58,335			196,900
1982	15,547	14,140	1,407	27,800
1983	16,416	16,965	--549	8,200
1984	24,509	21,586	1,923	-12,500
1985	71,632	22,578	49,054	3,000
1986	91,723	30,651	61,072	7,000
1987	96,671	38,089	58,582	28,100
1988	116,234	49,190	67,044	2,800

* Training Colleges = Agricultural Colleges, Teachers' Training Colleges and Technical Colleges.

SOURCE: Data from Quarterly Digest of Statistics, Central Statistical Office - Harare, March 1989, p. 8.

Again, in 1984, there were only 3,000 new jobs for 49,054 school leavers who could not go further with their education and the employment situation becomes alarmingly worse so that in 1985, 1986 and 1987 there were 61,072, 58,582 and 67,044 school leavers competing for 7,000, 28,100, and 2,800 new jobs respectively. In addition to the fact that very few new jobs are created each year, the tables also show that there is a decline of jobs in some cases. For example, in 1983, there was a decline of 12,500 new jobs. Another indicator of the shortage of jobs relative to the number of school leavers is available from job seeker and registration data. Although relatively few school leavers register for jobs, that is, only 2,346 of 49,054 school leavers, the shortage of jobs is still apparent.

TABLE 4.9 Four-Year Secondary School Employment Statistics

Year	Registration Male	Registration Female	Registration Total	Vacancies	Placements Male	Placements Female	Placements Total
1984	1,661	685	2,346	54	38	16	54
1988	1.636	504	2,140	227	208	17	225

SOURCE: Department of Employment and Employment Development (DEED), 1989.

As indicated in Table 4.9 there are large discrepancies between the number of job seekers and job vacancies. In 1984 there were 43 registrants for every available job or 2,292 more registrants than jobs and in 1988 there were 1,915 more registrants than jobs. Another point derived from Table 4.9 is that fewer people registered for employment in 1988 (2,140) than in 1984 (2,346) probably because registration was not seen as effective in obtaining jobs.

What makes the secondary school leaver unemployment worse is the fact that they are competing for those very jobs with qualified and experienced workers. As shall be discussed later in this chapter and subsequent ones, these school leavers are still too young and often lack job skills in order to be considered for formal employment and also lack entrepreneurial skills to create their own employment. Also, the labour policy which shall be discussed in the next section of this study is likely to lead to higher levels of unemployment in most of the industrial sectors in Zimbabwe.

4. Labour Policy

As far as labour policy is concerned, it has been observed by King (1989) that when employers are asked about their inability to take on more employees they look into some of the legislation relating to security of tenure, the rates to be paid for employment of casual labour, and the tendency for government to announce across-the-board wage increases. The employers argue that the requirement of prior ministerial approval before dismissal of any employee only serves as a discouragement for them to take on new workers during upturns in their business. They are better off having overtime, or short term fixed contract workers instead. Employers are even more reluctant to take on school leavers who have no skills to offer and who may not have desirable work habits since once hired it remains difficult to dismiss them without ministerial approval.

Even where the employer may be willing to train the school leavers, there are several aspects of these labour laws and wage decrees that may be held to have negative effects upon training. First, it could be argued that a policy of statutory wage increases not only undermines the system of collective bargaining (as the Employers' Confederation would say), but it may also act as a disincentive for training policies within the enterprise. One reason that individuals may invest time and energy in improving their knowledge and skill may be to increase their earnings (and promotion prospects). It is just possible that across-the-board wage increases could interfere with training policies which are predicated upon rewards for the successful completion of in-service courses. It is much more likely that in-service training may be restricted by the employer's inclination to take on short term contract workers. This practice has grown up in recent years as a way of dealing with the problem of high rates of pay for casual workers, and the reluctance to take on permanent employees, because of the dismissal procedures. It seems likely that one of the benefits denied to those who are on a series of short term contracts will be access to training. Again, it has not been possible in the analysis in this study to pursue in any detail some of these conditions of contract labour, but, given its prevalence, this would be an important area of study. It is worth noting that the Minister of Labour, Cde John Nkomo, in an intervention at the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industry (CZI) Congress in July, mentioned that

> consideration was being given to relaxing some of these regulations about casuals because the unemployment crisis was appreciated, and there would be ways of making more casual jobs available. (Herald, 14-7-88).

It appears, however, that nothing has happened since then. It should also be noted here that although government and the enterprises use every means possible and policy instruments to improve the quality of existing labour, it is also apparent that government is bound to be increasingly interested in how to expand the number of new jobs rather than how to alter marginally the quality of skills within the existing formal sector labour market. Indeed new and wide-ranging plans were announced in January 1988, which intended to encourage employment creation through a variety of means.

As well as consideration which is being given to relaxing some of the labour policies which discourage employers to take on new employees, the government is making efforts to create employment. First and foremost, it has been necessary for the government to embrace trade liberalization as spelled out by the Senior Finance Minister in the Z$ 8.2 billion (US $3.28 billion) 1990/1991 budget presented to parliament on July 26, 1990. The Senior Minister signalled a dramatic shift away from socialist, central control to a market-oriented and less regulated economy. This liberalization was promised to eager industrialists and western financial institutions for at least two years, and repeatedly postponed. Ultimately, Zimbabwe's unemployment crisis has convinced the government to seriously consider trade liberalization. The new policy shows Zimbabwe following the path of a free market and export-driven economy in search of the badly needed economic growth and new jobs.

Unlike its neighbours, Zimbabwe starts from a position of relative strength. It has the largest and most sophisticated industrial base in sub-Saharan Africa (excluding South Africa) to produce the manufactured exports upon which the success of a trade liberalization program hinges (Meldrum in Africa Confidential, 1990). Fiscally also, the economy is comparatively strong, having reduced its foreign debt from 33% of export earnings in 1987 to 22% in 1989, and cut its budget deficit from 12% of Gross Domestic Product in 1987 to 9% in 1990 (Ibid., p. 19). It is hoped by the government, therefore, that trade liberalization will go a long way in improving the economy and hence create new jobs. The government is also looking into "vocationalization" of education (details of which will be discussed in the next chapter) as a way of combating the problem of youth unemployment.

5. The Labour Force Survey

(a) Background Information

The following data on the labour force, employment and unemployment were mainly obtained from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) which was, for the first time ever, carried out in Zimbabwe in 1986-1987 by the Central Statistical Office (CSO). The main objective of the LFS was to count and classify people according to whether they were employed, unemployed or not in the labour force. Furthermore, the survey provided information on the employment characteristics such as age, sex, industry, occupation etc. It is also aimed to measure employment in the formal (modern sector) and informal sectors to complement the estimates on modern sector employment obtained from business establishment surveys. The formal sector refers to the registered business establishments and includes the modern sector and the informal sector refers to all unregistered business establishments.

6. The Labour Force

(i) Size of the Labour Force

The labour force, which includes economically active adults, comprised almost 77% of the total adult population (this represents about 3.3 million people). Excluding communal farmers, the labour force amounted to 1.5 million people. Thus, almost 55% (1.8 million) of the labour force were communal farmers. The sex structure revealed that females constituted 48% of the entire labour force but only 32% when communal farmers were excluded (Central Statistical Office, 1989).

Table 4.10 compares the results of the 1982 census with the 1986-87 LFS.

TABLE 4.10 Results From the 1982 Census and the LFS
1986 - 1987 (000')

	1982	Percentage	1987	Percentage
Total Labour Force	2,484	100.00	3,269	100.00
Employed	1,177	47.4	1,237	37.9
Communal Farmers	1,038	41.8	1,789	54.9

SOURCE: Central Statistical Office, Harare, July, 1989.

A brief comparison of the labour force as reported in the 1982 census and the LFS reveals the following points:

(a) the labour force size has grown by about 30%;

(b) the proportion unemployed has fallen a little while the proportion employed has increased slightly; and

(c) the number of communal farmers has increased by about 70%.

(d) The figures reveal that there has been an increase in the labour force of nearly 800,000. In the 1982 census, 42% of the labour force was recorded as communal farmers. In the LFS, the corresponding proportion is 55%.

It must however be remembered that the two surveys differ in methodology, techniques and definitions.

(ii) Participation Rate

The proportion of economically active persons in a population is measured by specific activity rates or labour force participation rates as they are usually called (LFS, 1986 - 1987). In the LFS, labour force participation rates indicated that participation rate for males is higher (83.1%) than that for females (70.4%). The overall participation rate for both males and females was 76.5% (See Table 4.11). Table 4.11 also shows that the number of people in paid/self employment (formal sector) was 1,237,000 and in communal farming was 1,789,000 indicating that communal lands had the highest rates when compared to the formal sector. This is mainly because a large proportion of the labour force in the communal lands tends to engage in farming as an alternative form of employment.

TABLE 4.11 Size of Male and Female Labour Force (in thousands)

Sex/Age	Paid/Self Employed	Unemployed	Communal Farmers	Total	Total Pop.	LFP +15
Male						
15-19	29	28	189	246	476	51.7
20-24	83	43	83	209	262	79.8
25-29	151	16	58	225	233	96.6
30-34	146	8	47	201	204	98.5
35-44	225	8	87	320	326	98.2
45-59	210	7	124	341	352	96.9
60+	47	1	111	159	195	81.5
TOTAL	891	111	699	1,701	2,048	83.1
Females						
15-19	31	27	169	227	462	49.1
20-24	60	40	143	243	353	68.8
25-29	61	22	135	218	292	74.7
30-34	60	13	135	208	266	78.2
35-44	77	14	203	294	368	79.9
45-59	49	7	199	255	309	82.5
60+	8	0	106	114	164	69.5
TOTAL	346	123	1,090	1,559	2,214	70.4
Both Sexes						
15-19	60	55	358	473	938	50.4
20-24	143	83	226	452	615	73.5
25-29	212	38	193	443	525	84.4
30-34	206	21	182	409	470	87.0
35-44	302	22	290	614	694	88.5
45-59	259	14	323	596	661	90.2
60+	55	1	217	273	359	76.0
TOTAL	1,237	234	1,789	3,260	4,262	76.5

SOURCE: Central Statistical Office, Harare, July, 1989.

(iii)Size of Male and Female Labour Force

As mentioned earlier and as shown on Table 4.11, the number of employed persons estimated from the survey was 3 million people of whom 1.6 million or 50% were males. Women only constituted 47% of the labour. Table 4.11 shows that females dominate in the communal sector but are rather under-represented in the modern wage or self-employed sector, for example, the table shows that there were 891,000 males in the paid or self-employed sectors as compared to 346,000 females in the same sectors and that there were 1,090,000 females in communal farming as compared to only 699,000 men in the same sector.

(iv) Age and Participation

Labour force participation rate was significantly lower among the 15 - 19 (50.4%) and 20 - 24 (73.5%) year age groups when compared with 83.5% for the 35 - 44 year age group, and 90.2% for the 44 - 55 year age group. In other words, only half of the population aged 15 - 19 is in the labour force compared to more than 85% of the older age groups.

The overall employment rates for youths was 51% when compared to 84% for the adults. In the 15 - 19 year age groups, Table 4.11 shows that there are 60,000 employed in the paid/self employment sector, as compared to 358,000 in communal farming. According to the LFS this may be due to the fact that rural students who spend most of their time working in the fields might have been misclassified as 'communal farmers' instead of students. On the other hand, it probably shows that young people who cannot get jobs engage in communal farming.

(v) Population Not in Labour Force

In the Labour Force Survey, there were those people who were classified as "not in labour force." The population not in labour force or inactive population was about 980,000 persons. These equaled about 23% of the total population aged fifteen years and above (see Table

4.12). About 66% of these were females. The age structure revealed that the youth constituted the majority of those not in the labour force (63%).

Also, it is important to realize that when studying employment and unemployment, it is essential to note that not every person of working age is looking for employment and there are various reasons for this. The major reasons for the economic inactivity given during the LFS were continuing studies (494,000) and household duties (352,000). Table 4.12 also reveals that women ranked highest when it came to household duties (339,000) when compared only 13,000 males with the same reason.

Thus, in total, about 50% of the inactive population stated studies as the main reason for being inactive, 36% mentioned household duties and the rest were either discouraged job seekers, the sick, those too old to work or the disabled.

TABLE 4.12 Inactive Population By Age, Sex and Reason for Being Inactive, Zimbabwe, 1986

Figures in '000

Sex and Age	Not Stated	H.H. Duties	Study	Sick or Old	Other	Total
Male						
15-19	1	5	215	2	3	226
20-24	1	3	45	1	1	51
25-29	1	1	4	0	1	7
30-34	1	0	1	1	0	3
35-44	2	1	1	1	0	5
45-59	4	1	2	2	1	10
60+	18	2	1	10	4	35
TOTAL	28	13	269	17	10	337
Females						
15-19	2	42	179	3	5	231
20-24	1	70	28	2	6	107
25-29	1	61	6	1	3	72
30-34	1	51	3	1	1	57
35-44	1	64	4	3	1	73
45-59	5	40	3	4	1	53
60+	28	11	2	7	1	49
TOTAL	39	339	225	21	18	642
Both Sexes						
15-19	3	47	394	5	8	457
20-24	2	73	73	3	7	158
25-29	2	62	10	1	4	79
30-34	2	51	4	2	1	60
35-44	3	65	5	4	1	78
45-59	9	41	5	6	2	63
60+	46	13	3	17	5	84
TOTAL	67	351	494	38	28	979

SOURCE: Central Statistical Office, Harare, July, 1989.

7. Unemployment

As mentioned in Chapter three, the measurement of unemployment through sample surveys is a difficult task. There are two kinds of problems; one relating to the identification of the respondent as employed, unemployed or not in the labour force. The second relates to the reference period to be used in making the above classifications. The four criteria that were used in the LFS to identify a person unemployed were: joblessness, ability to work, willingness to work, and actively seeking work.

The first question asked in the LFS on current activity in relation to unemployment was: "Were you available to work during the last seven days?" If yes, the next question was: "Did you look for work during the last seven days?" The above question categorized the labour force into latent or hidden unemployment, and according to the LFS, latent or hidden unemployment referred to persons who during the reference period were available for work but did not seek work. They might not have looked for work in the belief that there was no work available. Open unemployment, on the other hand, referred to persons who, during the reference period were available for work and looking for work. The LFS analysis mostly refers to open unemployment although some aspects refer to hidden unemployment, especially in communal land areas.

(i) Number of Unemployed and Unemployment Rates

- The total number of unemployed persons was 234,000 and this provided a national unemployment rate of about 7% when communal farmers were included and 16% when communal farmers were excluded. Considering the prevalence of hidden unemployment mentioned earlier on, and according to the LFS (p.13), the rate of 16% might be a more realistic estimate of unemployment in Zimbabwe.

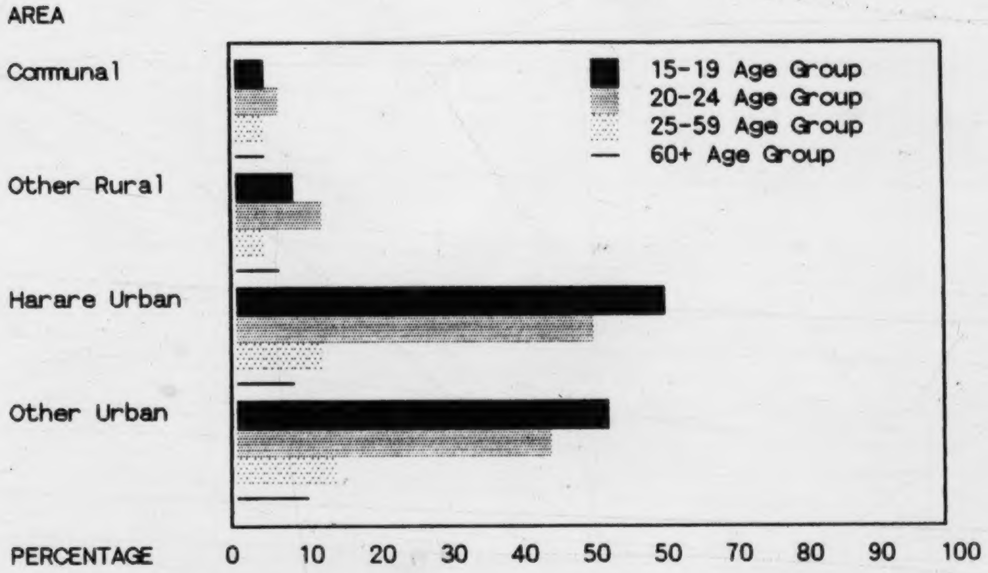
(ii) Numbers and Rates of Unemployment in Formal Sector and Communal Areas

The highest level of unemployment was among the urban labour force. According to the LFS, the rate of unemployment for urban areas was 18.3% and urban Harare had a rate of 17.4%, the bulk of which was concentrated in the younger job seekers. Figure 4.3 shows that in the 15-19 age group, the level of unemployment in urban Harare was 56% compared to 50% in other urban areas and less than 5% in communal areas. In the age group 20-24 the unemployment level dropped to about 45% in urban Harare, 40% in other urban areas and about 5% in communal areas. Other rural areas, for example, resettlement areas and commercial agricultural areas have a significantly lower level of unemployment than urban areas.

The unemployment rate for communal lands was 2.2% including communal farmers and 18.3% excluding communal farmers from the labour force. The rate for other rural areas was 5% and 7.4% respectively. The LFS show that due to the effect of communal farming on unemployment, the communal land unemployment rates rise drastically whenever the farmers are excluded from the labour force. It could be supposed that most of the youths classified as farmers in these areas may actually be

FIGURE 4.3

Unemployment by Area and Age



SOURCE: The Labour Force Survey, 1986-1987.

job seekers. Thus, the total number of unemployed persons would rise to about half a million (Central Statistical Office, 1989) if communal farmers are excluded. In other words, communal farming tends to disguise or reduce unemployment figures.

TABLE.4.13 Labour Force and Unemployment

(Figures in '000)

Sex/Age	Labour Force	Unemployed	Unemployment Rate	Unemployment Rate Excluding Communal Farmers
Male				
15-19	246	28	11.4	49.1
20-24	209	43	20.5	34.1
25-29	225	16	7.1	9.6
30-34	201	8	4.0	5.2
35-44	320	8	2.5	3.4
45-59	341	7	2.1	3.2
60+	159	1	0.6	2.1
TOTAL	1,701	111	6.5	11.1
Females				
15-19	227	27	11.9	46.6
20-24	243	40	16.5	40.0
25-29	218	22	10.1	26.5
30-34	208	13	6.3	17.8
35-44	294	14	4.8	15.4
45-59	255	7	2.7	12.5
60+	114	0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	1,090	123	7.9	26.2
Both Sexes				
15-19	473	55	11.6	47.8
20-24	452	83	18.4	36.7
25-29	443	38	8.6	15.2
30-34	409	21	5.1	9.3
35-44	614	22	3.6	6.8
45-59	596	14	2.3	5.1
60+	273	1	0.4	1.8
TOTAL	3,260	234	7.2	15.9

SOURCE: The Labour Force Survey 1986 - 1987, Central Statistical Office, Harare, July, 1989.

(iii) Male and Female Unemployment

Table 4.13 shows that females constituted about 52% of the total number of unemployed persons. The unemployment rates for females (7.9% or 26.2% excluding communal farmers) were higher than for males (6.5% or 11.1% excluding communal farmers).

In absolute numbers, Table 4.13 shows that there are 111,000 unemployed males and 123,000 females. However, it may be important to note that females may not join the labour force for several reasons, among them are:

(a) household chores, so that they do not have time left to join the labour force;

(b) traditional values, that is the man is the head of the family and bread winner (this is most likely to happen in the communal land areas); and

(c) fewer females went to school as compared to the number of males who are educated.

The above three factors explain why there are fewer women in the labour force.

(iv) Age, Sex and Unemployment

The unemployment rates by age groups indicate a much higher incidence of unemployment in the youth population (ages 15-19 and 20-24). This is consistent with other various national studies of youth unemployment which have shown that the rate of unemployment for the youth is considerably higher than the average unemployment rate for all the ages (Magnussen, 1979).The total unemployment rate for age group

15-19 was 11.6% (including communal farmers) and 47.8% excluding communal farmers. The rates of age group 20-24 were 18.4% (including communal farmers) and 36.7% excluding communal farmers (see Table 4.13). The rates for female youths were higher (11.9%) in the age groups 15-19 than their male counterparts (11.4%) including communal farmers and 46.6% and 47.8% respectively excluding communal farmers.

The table also shows that the unemployment rate for the 20-24 age group is 36.7% and 47.8% for the 15-19 age group when excluding communal farmers in both cases. However Table 4.12 shows that there are a large number (38,000) of young people in the 15-19 age group in communal farming, indicating that in the young age groups, the sector is hiding the magnitude of youth unemployment problem.

C. LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Table 4.14 shows that out of a total of 234,000 unemployed, 34% are individuals with 'O' level certificates, that is, four years of secondary education. Roughly 90% of these are youths aged 15-24 years. There are 16,000 unemployed males in this age group when compared to 14,000 females in the same age group. Also, in the age groups 20-24, there are 26,000 males who are unemployed when compared to 17,000 females. This is one of the rare occasions when we see fewer unemployed females than males. This can be explained by the fact that fewer females than males are in the labour force for reasons such as household duties, marriage and related issues.

Table 4.14 Education and Unemployment by Age and Sex Unemployed Population by Age, Sex and Education Level

Figures in '000 Grade and Form

Age/Sex	0	1-6	7	Form 1-3	Form 4	Above Form 4	Total
Male							
15-19	0	3	3	6	16	0	28
20-24	0	3	7	6	26	1	43
25-29	0	2	7	3	3	1	16
30-34	0	2	2	3	0	0	7
35-44	1	3	2	1	1	0	8
45-59	1	3	2	1	0	0	7
60+	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	3	17	23	20	46	2	111
Females							
15-19	1	3	3	7	14	0	28
20-24	1	6	9	7	17	0	40
25-29	2	5	7	5	2	0	21
30-34	1	4	4	3	1	0	13
35-44	3	6	4	1	0	0	14
45-59	2	3	1	1	0	0	7
60+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	0	27	28	24	34	0	123
Both Sexes							
15-19	1	6	6	13	13	0	56
20-24	1	9	16	13	13	1	83
25-29	2	7	14	8	5	1	37
30-34	1	6	6	6	1	0	20
35-44	4	9	6	2	1	0	22
45-59	3	6	3	2	2	0	14
60+	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
TOTAL	3	44	51	44	80	2	234

SOURCE: The Labour Force Survey 1986-1987, Central Statistical Office, Harare, July, 1989.

The next largest number of unemployed persons are those with qualifications up to grade seven who constituted about 22% of the total unemployed population. Table 4.14 shows that in the age group 15-19, there are the same number of unemployed individuals (3,000), in each of the female/male categories and that as we go up to the 20-24 age group the number increased to 7,000 for females and 9,000 for males.

There are only 13,000 unemployed individuals without education. However, Table 4.14 also shows that on the whole, there are more unemployed females (10,000) than males (3,000) with no formal education. Only a small portion of those educated above four years of secondary education were unemployed. The table shows that there are only 2,000 unemployed in this category out of a total of 234,000 unemployed people.

Table 4.14 then emphasizes that the largest number of unemployed people is found among those individuals with four years secondary education, but as people get educated beyond Form Four, the unemployment rate goes down significantly. It is also interesting to note from the table that as these people with Form IV qualifications grow older, the number of unemployed persons drops considerably. This may be explained by the fact that in the younger age group (15-24), these people are young and lacking in job skills, hence cannot compete with older and experienced job seekers. The table also highlights the fact that those without education have very low levels of unemployment. Perhaps this is because they are not as selective (when it comes to what type of job they are likely to take) as their educated counterparts or that they are on communal lands. In other words, the LFS reveals that the highest unemployment level was among those with at least secondary education (11.6%). They were followed by those with primary education (6.8%) and the least unemployed were the persons who never attended school since they are not affected by the white collar syndrome.

It is also notable that the relationship between education level and unemployment is exhibited only among the youths. Other age groups indicate a higher incidence of unemployment among those with primary education. However, the large numbers of unemployed youths influences the total figures. In other words, the survey revealed that youth unemployment especially secondary school leaver unemployment was prevalent in Zimbabwe.

It was difficult to get substantial employment/unemployment statistics specifically for four year secondary school leavers since nobody has carried out this type of research. However, what becomes clear from the study is that there is a great imbalance between formal school, especially four year secondary and formal sector jobs. In other words, there are not enough jobs to absorb the large numbers of secondary school leavers. Zimbabwe is now threatened with the problem of the "educated unemployed" as the turn-over rate of secondary school leavers is evidently greater than the rate at which industry is expanding. For example, the Ministry of Education reported that 80% of secondary school leavers were unemployed in 1981.

Derek Warner recently confirmed this trend of events when he noted that there were between 270,00 and 430,000 school leavers in Zimbabwe and that the employment problem was staggering (The Times, December 1, 1989). He went on to say that there were 'no jobs' available for the school leavers. A variety of reasons was given for the unemployment crisis. As mentioned before in this chapter and according to the interviews with the Ministry of Industry and Technology, one of the reasons given was that many industrial concerns were, at that moment, cutting back because they did not have sufficient raw materials to enable them to run at full capacity--and certainly not enough to consider expanding their operations. This is despite the fact that, in many cases, there was an ever-increasing market for the products which they made. The senior official in the Ministry of Industry and Technology (1989) during interviews gave reasons for the shortages as insufficient foreign currency for direct imports or shortage of raw materials from other manufacturers who, in turn, have shortages of foreign currency or shortages of local material inputs caused by the present transport crisis.

Industry has always tended to be very labour intensive in Zimbabwe, and, where possible, this policy is likely to continue. Equally, however, it must be realized that in order to be competitive on the export market, modern methods of manufacture must be adopted. This tends to relate to automated machinery in order to produce the quantities and quality of product needed to become competitively priced. Automated machinery will mean that the number of people required to do a job will be reduced, thus making the school leaver unemployment worse. The sheer numbers of people leaving school each year is going to highlight this issue of unemployment and bring it very rapidly to crisis level. In other words, this basic tension between rapid educational growth and limited employment generation 'has' created a situation conducive to credential escalation and declining prospects of school leavers. Credential escalation can also lead to more unemployment for the educated youth and thus creating a vicious circle situation.

In addition to the above point, what came out during interview discussions with the Executive Director of the Employers Confederation of Zimbabwe was that the Zimbabwean system of secondary education was producing the "worst type" of workers with no skills. In other words, the school leaver has no work habits and self discipline because of the education system itself which concentrates on academic subjects and only prepares the Form IV for further education. This argument from the private sector does not come as a surprise, especially when examined against Carnoy's reasons for unemployment as discussed in chapter two of this study. Carnoy (1977) argues that in the modern sector, production is organized to benefit the owners and it is to their advantage to have a surplus army of over-educated labour to drive up the supply and drive down wages. In other words, Carnoy suggests that unemployment is caused by international investment and production policies which result from rational decisions to maximize profit. The above argument is still valid because even if government is "socialist"; the economy is still largely controlled by the private sector. However, notwithstanding Carnoy's argument, because the education system is still white-collar oriented, the school leaver would not consider manual work. For example, there is a great demand for workers during the cotton and coffee picking seasons and the school leaver would rather be unemployed than do this kind of job because he/she feels it is inferior. The school leavers think that by virtue of their having four years of secondary education, they deserve a white collar job. The country then resorts to recruiting labour from countries like Malawi and Mozambique, while the school leaver would rather wait until something better shows up.

Interviews with the Executive Director of EMCOZ revealed that some of these school leavers are too young, that is sixteen years of age, when they leave school, to be able to get a responsible job. As mentioned above they lack work habits and self-discipline. Employers, in this instance would prefer to hire a retrenched worker to the sixteen year old even if the retrenched (laid-off) worker has lower qualifications (Employers Confederation of Zimbabwe (EMCOZ), 1989). On this issue, EMCOZ (1989) recommends the following:

(1) Extend the period of education, that is, prolong the education period so that these students stay longer in school.

(2) Introduce national service.

(3) Make syllabus more technical so that they are employable.

(4) Offer on the job training.

Items (3) and (4) will be covered in some detail in the next chapter since they seem to be very relevant to the study.

When it comes to the fundamental question of whether the increased number of school leavers (educational expansion) has worsened the problem of youth unemployment, a senior official in the Ministry of Education responded that it appears that the educational expansion by itself had not strictly worsened the situation because secondary or not secondary education, these youth would have been there and the economy was still not expanding fast enough. Educational expansion has however, accentuated the degree of dissatisfaction among the educated unemployed youth since they believe they are educated enough to deserve a 'decent' job.

Another relevant point to consider here is that there have been relatively few efforts to document the changing relationship between formal education, training and career patterns in Zimbabwe. The development of the education system patterns of access, the examination system, educational aspirations, and pedagogical factors affecting the process of education have created a lot of interest among researchers and scholars alike, but little work has been done on the effects of education. This bias toward the inputs rather than the outputs of education reflects international trend in educational research. It has also resulted from the lack of available national statistics permitting analysis of the links between education and its economic role. What seems to prevail in Zimbabwe, however, is that despite lack of adequate employment opportunities, educational expansion will continue to take place for some time to come for reasons other than strictly economic ones. For example, the enthusiasm with which current educational developments have been greeted by blacks shows that current educational practices (education expansion) are not only welcome, but are also seen as a national priority, for which Zimbabweans fought and died to achieve.

CHAPTER V

MISMATCH BETWEEN THE SCHOOL AND WORK PLACE

A. INTRODUCTION

As observed in chapter two, current rates of open unemployment in less economically developed countries range from 10% to 15% of the labour force. And, unemployment among young people aged 15-24, many of whom have a substantial education, is typically almost twice as high as the overall average (Todaro, 1989).

Unemployment amongst school leavers is currently the focus of considerable and mounting concern in Zimbabwe and the effects of this unemployment on youth can be devastating. Where the demand for jobs greatly exceeds the supply, employers are in the position to pick and choose. And not altogether surprisingly, they tend to select the most highly qualified applicants, even when the job in question does not in fact call for that particular level of qualifications. In most cases, as many as twenty or more school leavers apply for one position. In such a situation, even some of the best qualified have difficulty in finding any sort of work let alone a job commensurate with their abilities and attainments. This makes the prospects for unqualified school leavers bleaker than ever because the types of jobs which they could normally expect to obtain are being sought by people who in conditions of lower unemployment would never consider entering them. It is within this premise that the idea of vocationalizing education can be examined to determine whether or not it might ease the problem of youth unemployment.

B. VOCATIONALIZING EDUCATION

(a) Background

In 1923 Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) became a self-ruling colony, which increased the settler influence at the expense of the British Colonial Government. The following two decades saw the build up of a carefully designed set of laws which aimed at political and economic segregation between the European settlers and the African population. The Huggins Government, in 1933 took over a programme of "parallel development". The segregation of land was more or less complete with the Land Apportionment Act in 1930. The reserves were meant to be the permanent homes of the Africans and labour reserves for the European economy. The Industrial Reconciliation Act discriminated against African artisans on the grounds that they were not yet ready to join the trade unions. The Maize Control Amendment Act in 1934 protected European farmers against possible competition from African farmers. The Native Councils Act in 1936 regulated the movement of the African population. At the same time the European farms and the growing industry was dependent on African labour. The system that was gradually built up was an intricate pattern of dependency with the political power mainly in the hands of the settlers, business interests and missionaries.

The education policy for Africans during this period was that they should be offered a rurally oriented kind of basic education "adapted" to their needs and those of the Tribal Trust Lands. This model known for its adaptation concept was developed as a result of the Phelps Stokes Commission's visits to Africa in the beginning of the 1920s. Gradually during the 1950s and 1960s the more academically oriented secondary school was opened to small minority of the African students. The content was not the same as for Europeans. In 1970 a structural reform was made at the secondary school level. An alternative model of secondary education for those African students who could not get access to secondary education was introduced. These schools known as the F2 schools had a bias towards practical subjects and was not meant to lead on to further studies.

Politically, they came to represent the very essence of discrimination of the African population in a racially segregated system of education. They had no equivalent in the structure to the system for Europeans. But independent Zimbabwe also inherited a long tradition of self-help in education. Schools for Africans were to up 1970 mainly in the hands of the missions. They were usually started with the support and help of the local community. Zimbabwe was a highly industrialized society with a good infrastructure at least in urban areas and in the European farm districts. It is against this background that the setting up of eight experimental schools for Education with Production, (EWP), the ZIMFEP schools, should be seen.

(i) The ZIMFEP-schools

Education with Production (EWP) is guiding principle for current educational reform work in Zimbabwe. Eight secondary schools and four adjacent primary schools have been identified to spearhead these efforts. The schools, which are located on former European farms were set up after independence for about 10,000 ex-refugees who returned from the camps in Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. This group of students and teachers, who had developed a model of education based on education and work during the liberation struggle, were seen as the vanguard in the process. The Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production, ZIMFEP, was established as a trust to coordinate construction work and to develop a model of EWP at the primary and secondary school level which could be replicated at the national level.

These experimental schools are expected to form the nucleus of a new type of secondary education based on the principles of EWP. The Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production, ZIMFEP, has been established as a semi-autonomous body under which the new experiment will be carried out. In the words of the Minister of Education:

> It is because I knew that the task would be controversial and that it would meet with opposition that I proposed that an independent welfare organization - ZIMFEP - be set up to lay the groundwork for substantive change. I believed that such an organization would have more freedom to experiment and would not be a prisoner of the bureaucratic structure inherited from the colonial past. (Speech by

> Zimbabwe Minister of Education at the ZIMFEP Workshop, 1983).

Legally speaking, ZIMFEP is autonomous. In reality, it is expected to operate within the Ministry structure. The ZIMFEP schools are Government schools. Therein lies a dilemma for them as a model for national reform. The Ministry is responsible for academic and administrative aspects of the eight schools. The role of ZIMFEP is to promote education with production through suggestions for curriculum reform and through experimentation. In practice this has meant that the schools are following the ordinary Cambridge syllabus but with a lot of practical and productive activities added. First, the students have been heavily involved in the construction of the schools. Secondly, schools have systematically tried to introduce productive activities as part of the curriculum.

Students are involved in project work, such as gardening, piggery, poultry and handicraft. The schools are also planning to explore the potential of their farms with a view to become self-sufficient in food. The farms are run by professional managers and staff. In 1984 it was decided that the agricultural projects run by students should be separated from large scale farming. The schools also have the ambition to reach out to and develop the local community through community theatre and literacy work. Finally, students are encouraged to start cooperatives upon completion of studies. The cooperatives are not part of the school structure but schools as well as ZIMFEP has the responsibility of assisting in the process.

After five years, developments can be summarized as follows:

- The infrastructure has been established which allows for education and production to take place.
- ZIMFEP-schools have an impressive record of mobilization of students in construction work. Few negative reactions on the part of students against manual work have been reported.
- Deliberate attempts have been made to combine theory and practice within and between subjects. This is often coupled with project work.
- A start has been made to generate income through large scale farming.
- Some attempts have been made to reach out to neighbouring communities.
- Job-creation, through cooperatives has been supported on a limited scale.
- It has been difficult for the schools to find their role in a national context. They have been met with resistance, partly because they have been associated with the old F2-system, partly because of their relative autonomy, partly because they have been composed of ex-refugee students and staff. There is ambiguity within the Ministry, as to what extent they should be different and autonomous in relation to the Ministry of Education and to the rest of the system.
- Overall, the characteristics above have not affected the structure of the curriculum. The ZIMFEP schools offer the common core of subjects and students sit for the same examinations as other secondary students.

(ii) Justification and Objectives

The Minister of Education has made big efforts to give the justification for Education with Production, (EWP), in Zimbabwe. In particular he has emphasized that "Education with Production is not resuscitation of F2 schools under another guise but the highest academic, practical and managerial skills to be combined." Reference have been made to the polytechnic concept of education. Students should be exposed to a broadly based education programme that prepares for all walks of life and which makes students understand their productive role in a national context. Therefore, schools should link "learning with job creation, the school with industrial and cooperative development. In one ZIMFEP school the students learn skills that are needed by the society and they produce goods required by the local community."

The ZIMFEP programme rests on the assumption that wealth is created through exploration of Zimbabwe's natural resources, agriculture and industry. Therefore there should be interaction between schools and society. Students should be made to understand the relationship between technology and economic development. In this perspective the objective of secondary education should not be to train craftsmen but to give appreciation on different trades, combined with management training and knowledge about economics. Others give more emphasis on skill training relevant to the development of the rural areas. The ZIMFEP model is in this context seen as a means to solving youth unemployment, stopping the drift to the towns and to develop the rural areas. This view was expressed in a Workshop on Education with Production in 1984. "Soon the people will notice that O-level is not enough to get a job." Therefore the purpose should be to give the student a trade training which they can utilize straight after school, whilst leaving an option for those who choose to pursue higher education as they will also have earned O-level subjects such as English, Mathematics and Science."

The schools, when asked to define EWP have emphasized the practical side of the curriculum. SKill training and/or production of useful articles as the essence of EWP. Some definitions of the objectives are more elaborate than others and emphasis is given to various aspects of EWP. There is a common denominator, however, in that EWP is always referred to as a means to link theory with practice within and between subjects.

(b) Constraints of Vocationalizing Education

(i) As noted earlier, the F2 system of education is a landmark in vocationalizing education in Zimbabwe, and because it was discriminatory in nature, it changed the students', teachers' and parents' attitudes towards practical subjects. The practical subjects were meant for those who were supposed to be less capable academically. It was meant for those students who got a third division or worse in their grade 7 examinations. They developed a negative attitude towards practical subjects and therefore rejected the system as inferior.

Essentially, the Minister of Education was faced with another historical reality. The division at the secondary school level for Africans known as the F1 (academic) and the F2 (practical) represented the very essence of racial discrimination. The efforts that have been made to explain that the ZIMFEP schools were not F2 "under a new guise" indicates that resistance was expected against any attempt to vocationalize secondary education. It is important to note, however, that there have been no student protests against involvement in productive activities particularly in the construction of schools. The question, however is, whether or not this success in student participation was due to the fact that the students (ex-combatants) who came from the camps were mature men and women who had to learn to survive under difficult conditions. These were gradually replaced by the children who grew up in refugee camps under very difficult conditions too. These students will also gradually be replaced by civilians but no big problems are expected since, in practice, these schools are following the ordinary 'O' level syllabus even if the emphasis is placed on practical work.

The ZIMFEP schools are facing a conflicting situation in that although they are experimental, they have to conform to existing rules and regulations. ZIMFEP schools are to aspire for good 'O' level results at the same time as they are expected to develop an alternative model of education.

In view of the above, their fate is closely related to divisions at the national level. It is not likely that the suggested new curriculum with the "highest level of academic, managerial and practical skills combined" can be introduced without a concurrent change of the objectives and content of the whole secondary school curriculum.

(ii) Self Employment

One of the objectives of vocationalizing curriculum is that school leavers with productive skills can become self-employed. Many of the schemes endeavouring to promote self-employment seem to work under the assumption that given the availability of productive skills people will automatically go into self-employment. This seems to be a fallacy. First of all, these young people do not have enough skills when they leave school to be able to start a viable project. Secondly, they often lack support, such as financial and managerial and therefore start off with poor chances of competing favourably with experienced and established entrepreneurs.

A study concerning the "informal sector" that was done in 1982 by the Department of Employment and Employment Development revealed that the concept of self-employment is successful in the traditional setting where all young people involved in self-employment activities such as carpentry, metal work, blacksmithing, motor mechanics etc. had been taught by a father, brother, uncle or some relative. The study revealed that most of the young people had gone through some apprenticeship scheme. The 'apprentice' does not only learn how to make a door frame or repair a car, but also learns how to be courteous to customers. It also became clear that the level of education for all the 200 self-employed people interviewed was primary school. A few 'O' level school-leavers interviewed said that they were over qualified to join the informal sector (self-employment). So, it becomes clear that the system of education itself give false hopes and aspirations to school leavers.

Another of the objectives for introducing practical subjects in the schools was to curb rural/urban migration. Quite a few countries in Africa, for example, Tanzania, Kenya, Botswana, Upper Volta and Rwanda have tried various schemes in an attempt to make the school curriculum 'relevant'. In practice, making the school curriculum relevant meant the introduction of agricultural work in the school in order to give the education system a rural bias. This in turn was intended to encourage the school leaver to stay on the land and reduce urban migration. However, these efforts to make education more 'relevant' by vocationalizing the curriculum has been problematic. One of the problems that seem apparent is that the students' and parents' aspiration are not met by making the school curriculum technical. This is true of all less economically developed countries where parents see academic education as the only means of social mobility. Mbilinyi, in criticizing the idea of making the school curriculum 'relevant' agrues that:

> it is impossible to close the eyes of the masses to the fact that in the material condition of today, those with steady monthly incomes are better off than the poorer peasants dependent on the extremes of weather and rain for an annual harvest (Coulston et al, 1979).

This argument, despite all the criticism levelled against Human Capital Theory, seems to see education as an important tool for economic development. In this context, perhaps what is needed is not so much of vocational education per se but giving the students basic skills, for example, industrial arts and then follow-up training so that these students can either be employed or go into self-employment.

The question of 'mismatch' therefore between the school and work place can be related to the curriculum that Zimbabwe is aspiring for. That is, although the secondary education curriculum in now attempting to emphasize science, technical subjects and agriculture, the reality of the situation is that the education system is still very much white-collar oriented and does not prepare the school leavers to enter the job market. It fails also to prepare them to create their own employment. Tied up with the issue of curriculum, it can then be argued that it is possible that the problem is not the supply or over-supply of secondary school graduates that causes youth unemployment, but the lack of more specialized training which would better prepare the school leavers to enter the labour market. Again, this 'mismatch' between the curriculum and jobs may be attributable to lack of relevant and sufficient vocational guidance and career information on the job opportunities that are available in the country.

(c) Quality of Education

Government policy in Zimbabwe aspires to have both quantity and quality in education. Statements from the Ministry of Education and government officials have affirmed the need to maintain high standards in education while at the same time expanding education for all. However, with the rapid expansion of secondary education, the quality of education has also dropped. As mentioned in Chapter four, Dorsey (1989) argues that as the number of candidates increased over the 7-year period 1980-1986, the percentage achieving an 'O' level certificate steadily declined from 66.6% in 1980 to 11.4% in 1986. A study by Ncube and Neilson (1985) shows that pass rates were related to the type of school that pupils attended. The older established schools, particularly mission and private (high fee-paying) schools, with long experience in preparing students for O-levels and with more qualified teachers, had a much higher pass rate than the recently built rural secondary schools with less qualified staff. The pass percentage in these schools ranged from 27% to 1%.

Another area of concern was the fact that teacher trainees were being appointed to schools that have too great a proportion of untrained staff, which meant that they were placed in positions of responsibility for which they had not been adequately trained. In addition, the trainee did not have experienced staff to consult when guidance was needed. Teacher trainees were also frequently employed at levels not relevant to the training they had undergone. The situation was aggrevated by the fact that teacher trainees lacked adequate supervision and support from the parent colleges during the practice year. Consequently, they observed that the trainees showed signs of lack of direction and loss of confidence. As a result, they failed to develop in their students such qualities as critical thinking, and entrepreneurial outlook and self determination to enable them (students) to compete in the labour market or create their own employment.

C. THE EDUCATION-EMPLOYMENT DILEMMA: CONCLUDING REMARKS

The problem of school leavers in Zimbabwe is also sometimes viewed as entirely an educational problem, and all efforts to solve it have been directed toward improving the different components of the school system such as examinations and curriculum as noted before. Two reasons for the emphasis on educational reforms seem possible. First, the school leaver problem has been rationalized to be a matter of graduates lacking marketable skills to enter the labour market or to create their own jobs. This has led to a concerted effort to introduce technical and vocational subjects in the curriculum. While these educational reforms may solve an immediate political problem by offering a new outlet for the economic aspirations of graduates, their impact on the employment prospects is severely limited by the restricted market for technical and vocational skills in Zimbabwe, especially since there is no positive effort on the part of Government to encourage self-employment.

The second reason why emphasis is placed on the education system stems from the fact that such actions are necessary to preserve the impression of expanding opportunities for all Zimbabweans. New educational policies, such as educational expansion are often announced with pomp and ceremony because of the social and political symbolic functions they serve but perhaps not necessarily because they distribute the most good to the greatest number of people. These efforts to reform the educational system in the absence of fundamental economic reform simply does not lead to a resolution of the unemployment problem both for the educated and uneducated alike.

While a reassessment of the value of western education for an essentially agrarian society such as Zimbabwe is badly needed, advocates in favour of vocational training have missed the point. Changes in the educational structure alone are insufficient to correct the distortions in the labour market. Although education does effect major changes in society in the long run, schools are in the short run largely dependent variables of the society that surrounds them. Any attempt to formalize and ritualize vocational education without a significant change in the economic structure will have little impact on the employment prospects of the educated and non-educated Zimbabweans. It would be unwise to expect of schools that which they cannot alone provide. There must be an interplay between the educational reforms, for example, educational expansion and economic reforms, such as, the economic structure and its ability to respond to the labour market.

In addition to the problems of relevance of the school curriculum, and quality of education, the previous chapters have attempted to show that trends in employment and unemployment have been determined by several factors to include:

(1) The pronounced expansion and reforming of primary and secondary schools. The Election Manifesto promised that the government would develop a uniform educational system for all races and also that it would establish and expand free and compulsory primary education. The Election Manifesto also promised educational expansion of secondary education as well. As a result, the large numbers of secondary school leavers have outnumbered the amount of employment opportunities and this has resulted in overwhelming educated unemployment among the youth.

(2) A series of structural problems that has gradually increased the persistent differences between unemployment rates of youth (especially secondary school leavers) and adults. These structural problems are linked to more fundamental shifts in the dynamics of the Zimbabwean labour market. In the language of labour economists, the problem is one of 'market imbalance' - a mismatch between the supply and demand for labour. Since independence, because of the high rate of secondary educational expansion, it becomes obvious that we have too many young people competing for the few jobs that

are available. In other words, the presence of large numbers of youth possessing higher levels of education has aggravated the mismatching of supply and demand. Two main reasons for the mismatch can be identified here as:

(i) the youth often lack the preferred or required work skills or job experience to fill vacant positions;

(ii) lack of expansion in the economy may mean that the employer would rather hire an adult with skills than a young school leaver without any job skills at all.

Even further, the enormous increase in the participation rate of women in the labour force has given employers an additional supply of labour. This has been especially true in the service sector which has been the fastest growing sector in Zimbabwe in terms of employment opportunities. These factors, in addition to the growing importance of a new technology in all sectors of the economy, especially in agriculture and the reassertation of recurring argument that the size of Zimbabwean markets is too small to support a full employment have worsened employment opportunities for secondary school leavers (EMCOZ, 1989).

It then becomes clear that many factors are at play when it concerns youth unemployment. What becomes obvious is that education cannot, by itself, solve the problem of unemployment. However, it can, if wrong decisions are made, make problems worse, both by using scarce resources in an inefficient and inequitable way, thus, preventing their use of other more profitable purposes, and by creating, or at least maintaining unrealistic attitudes towards work, and unrealistic expectations concerning job status and income.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

A. SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Chapter IV has attempted to show that Zimbabwe faces an unemployment crisis, especially as far as Form IV school leavers are concerned. The following is a summary of the main findings of the study:

1. The study has tried to show that this group of the productive population (Form IV school leavers) finds it difficult either to go into further education and training or find employment (refer to Figures 4.1, 4.2 and Table 4.14). Furthermore, for those four year secondary school leavers who do not qualify either to move to 'A' levels or apprenticeship, the choices of semi-skilled or unskilled work are very limited because, among other reasons discussed in preceding chapters, the economy is not expanding fast enough to absorb every person who is looking for work.

2. The study has also shown that agriculture, manufacturing and mining have always been the major employers of labour and creators of wealth and employment. However employment in agriculture has continued to decline because of more efficient use of current labour and the fact that agriculture is highly mechanized.

3. The sector for Domestic Service (houseworkers and gardeners in private homes) is also one of the major

employers, but because the education system is still white-collar oriented, four year secondary school leavers would rather wait for the 'right' type of job than be a domestic worker. Related to the above, the study has also shown that domestic service and agriculture are the lowest paid occupations and require the least education, hence four-year secondary school leavers would rather wait for a better job than be, for example, a "nanny" and getting paid the minimum wage.

4. The study has also shown that the labour policy which mostly works in favour of the employees is likely to cause a decline in the number of employees in most of the industrial sectors in Zimbabwe. This tends to make the school leaver unemployment worse because employers are even more reluctant to employ them since it remains difficult to dismiss them without ministerial approval. Again, since these school leavers lack job skills, they may not be able to be productive enough to earn the stipulated minimum wage.

5. Under the very restricted secondary school policy regime prior to independence, the study has also shown that those reaching Form IV were a rather small proportion of those in formal jobs. This underlined the fact that Form IV achievement equated with a job. However, by early in the independence period, the number of students enrolling in Form IV was growing, but it was still as low as 24,000 in 1983.

But, as soon as the first effects of the campaign to universalize secondary access began to move through the system, the numbers of Form IV graduates had shot up to 92,000 in 1985 and when this figure is placed against the number of new jobs (7,000) created (see Table 4.7) in the same year, the magnitude of the problem of youth unemployment becomes clear. The magnitude of school leaver problems would be more clearly appreciated if information concerning the total number of available jobs were available and also if there was knowledge about existing jobs that fall vacant due to retirement, illness, death, etc. Unfortunately, this important information was not available to the researcher. However, findings have revealed that the school leaver unemployment problem has reached crisis level.

6. The magnitude of the problem of four-year secondary school leavers gets worse as students complete Form IV since at that stage they need to qualify to either get into Form IV or training colleges. For those students who finish four years of secondary education, there is no guarantee for further education or further training. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 attempt to show that the majority of school leavers find themselves competing for limited wage employment opportunities. For example, of the 153,439 students who enrolled in Form I in 1981, only 8,376 went to Form VI lower (Figure 4.2), and this accentuates the magnitude of school

leaver unemployment.

7. The educational expansion since independence, which changed the demand-supply relationship in many occupations and professions rather rapidly in the sense that it increased the quest for credentials in order to compete for a limited number of job opportunities may have made the situation worse for those who had no more than four years of secondary school. It has also been mentioned in chapter four that if there is a shortage of jobs, it is the more educated (above Form IV) who get them, especially those of a long-term character. Even if they do not have specific skills for the jobs, employers regard them as better prospects than those with less education. Table 4.14 confirms this trend of events by showing that in the age groups 15-19, 30,000 people with Form IV were unemployed when compared to none with above Form IV education (LFS, 1986-1987). In addition to the above discussion regarding more education and the possibility of getting a job, the study also revealed that whenever the demand for jobs exceeds the supply, employers, in this instance, tend to pick the most highly qualified applicants and this, in turn, tends to leave out the school leavers.

8. The study has also noted that class differences do exist as far as who gets into what type of school is concerned. It also appears that since the children from the higher income groups go to the elite schools, they tend to get preferences

when a job comes up. In other words, the problem of youth unemployment does not affect them as much as it does the youth from low income groups. Also, even though the government is trying so hard to do away with sex discrimination, the male school leavers are more likely to get employment than their female counterparts. This may still be explained by the traditional factors mentioned in Chapter four. Related to sex discrimination is also the fact that more males go into technical training than females and this tends to give male students more chances of getting employment.

9. The study also reveals that even if the educational system is still predominantly white-collar oriented and the school leaver aspires to join the modern sector, the Labour Force Survey (see Table 4.12) found a large number of young people in the 15-19 age group in communal farming indicating that in the young age groups, the communal sector is hiding the magnitude of youth unemployment.

One way to combat the problem of lack of appropriate skills that was examined in this study was to vocationalize the schools. The thinking on this line within Zimbabwe has been recent (since July, 1986), and has been termed the "new structure and content of education." The initial pronouncements about its character indicated that each student in the first two years of secondary education would be encouraged to take at least two technical/vocational subjects. Then in the next two years, students specializing in technical and vocational education would still take some academic courses while those following academic programs would take at least one technical subject. The result would eventually be that no child would leave secondary school without being exposed to a major or minor form of technical/vocational education. The Task Force working on the details of this proposal in the once unified Ministry of Education has recently been relocated within the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education. But at the moment, only a small number of pilot schools have been identified that could pursue a serious measure of vocationalization.

Effectively, this means that there was very little pre-service vocational training available in the school system in 1989, and therefore students must still look to the post-school institutions for their training if any. The government training system has not so far experienced any of the dramatic expansion associated with the school system. Partly this was because the major form of training for industry was apprenticeship, and this was predicated upon in-service arrangements with employers. And partly, perhaps, it was because training was located in a quite different Ministry. Whatever the reason, the numbers of training places, just for vocational skills, has remained very small up to the present.

Another of the central components of the school leaver problem as discussed in chapter four of this study is the so-called "white-collar oriented attitude" fostered by the educational establishment. Although there has never been a study to determine the attitude of school leavers towards manual jobs in Zimbabwe, the researcher's observations in her course of employment and those by the Department of Employment and Employment Development in the Ministry of Labour, Manpower, Planning and Social Welfare (whose job it is to place the school leavers into employment) and also as evidenced by the school leavers' reluctance to pick cotton and coffee (see chapter four of this study), suggest that four year secondary school leavers aspire to get a white-collar job when they leave school. It is important to note here that parents also hope that after four years of secondary education, their children deserve 'better' jobs.

In other words, the white-collar syndrome discussed above which was fostered during colonialism, still exists and it tends to make school leavers set their sights on the limited number of modern sector jobs available and causes them to reject agricultural or manual work. This attitude has greatly contributed to school leavers unemployment.

The rationale behind the above type of thinking is that unemployment in this case is due to an educational system which turns out inappropriately trained labour, that is labour which is academically geared. The colonial legacy in the educational structure, which ensures that an elite is groomed for administrative work, is often blamed for producing this situation. The possible solution as discussed in the previous chapter appears to lie in a reform of the educational system by promoting vocational and practically oriented training. Chapter five also examined the expected outcomes of the Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production (ZIMFEP) schools.

A recurring theme that is suggested in these reforms, especially ZIMFEP, is the view that education and production ought to be closely linked. The integration of education and production is expected to discourage students from seeking employment in the urban areas and lead them into rural areas where they can create jobs for themselves.

Many of these reforms are to be welcomed on strictly educational grounds, however, it is doubtful from the findings whether they will succeed in having an impact on the school leaver problem, and in particular whether they will succeed in halting the pressure for expanding secondary education, ignoring as they do, the earnings that regularly accrue to persons with advanced levels of schooling. In other words, the demand for further schooling will continue to increase in the belief that higher qualifications are needed to find the limited jobs in the modern sector and that the higher qualifications one has the more money one would get.

B. CONCLUSIONS FROM THE STUDY

In this study, problems arising from educational expansion have been noted, among them are high rates of school leaver unemployment and quality of education. It has also been noted in chapter five that due to educational expansion, the quality of education especially in rural schools has dropped. However, the nature of this study necessitated a cautious approach in drawing the following conclusions from the major findings:

In regards to whether educational expansion contributes to youth unemployment, it was noted that there is a basic tension between rapid educational growth and limited employment generation and this has created a situation very much conducive to credential escalation and declining prospects of school leavers. However, it has also been concluded from this study that educational expansion by itself has not strictly worsened the school leaver unemployment problem because whether those youth had secondary education or not, the economy is still not expanding fast enough to absorb everyone who is looking for a job. In addition to the important issue raised earlier regarding the economy which is not expanding fast enough to absorb everyone who is looking for a job, it was also important to examine whether the education system provided the country with the necessary skills to maintain and expand the economy. It was then noted that Zimbabwe is facing a problem of shortage of skilled manpower as revealed by the 1982 Manpower Survey which was discussed in chapter one of this study and as observed by the researcher in the course of her employment where large numbers of expatriates were recruited in different sectors of the economy every year. Shortage of manpower will therefore mean that the development of the economy will be slowed down and this would in turn mean that not enough jobs would be created and the large numbers of students who leave school each year would find themselves competing for the limited number of jobs with the older and more experienced job seekers. Also, in many less developed countries, and Zimbabwe is no exception, the skills and productive capacities of a significant proportion of the work force are not being effectively or fully utilized; many are without employment, others are under-employed. In these instances, the education system is not capable of providing the type of education necessary for the whole working population to be effectively and productively employed or it might be failing to achieve both of these goods simultaneously.

In Zimbabwe, the then Minister of Education, Comrade Mutumbuka (1987) remarked that:

> In Africa, there is either inadequate education, or if it is adequate, it is irrelevant. At Independence, Zimbabwe had inadequate education, at present, it has adequate education, but it is irrelevant."

This can be explained by the fact that while Government was expanding educational facilities, it neither had the human nor material resources to ensure that the curriculum was abreast the needs of the world of work. Worse still, the school leavers found themselves unqualified to meet the industrial and employment needs of their country since they lacked the technical and technological know-how required by commerce and industry.

If these large numbers of young people are by-passed by the country's education system and if the education given is accompanied by large and growing underemployment, then the education system is clearly inappropriate to the employment needs of the country. Obviously then, the education and employment problems of Zimbabwe will not be solved by educational expansion alone.

Various limited attempts have been made to increase the vocational/technical/scientific enrollment in the formal education system. In addition many educational reforms have been advanced since the 1960s to cope with such immediate problems as unemployment in largely rural economies. These reforms have centred around ideas such as the ruralization of education, (making education more relevant to rural communities), and increasing the productive content of education. In practice most such reforms have resulted in second rate attempts to provide agriculture-related productive work in schools, in a desperate hope to cope with the largely agricultural reality of African economies. The concept of vocationalizing education in Zimbabwe, for example, the ZIMFEP schools is an attempt to make education more relevant to rural communities.

The rationale underlying the introduction of agriculture-related work into the school curriculum is based on two myths:

(1) that through the introduction of such curriculum content, school leavers will be encouraged either to remain on, or return to the land;

(2) that such an emphasis on agriculture will necessarily facilitate a developing country's efforts to move beyond dependency.

To make the first point, despite attempts to make education relevant to community needs as reviewed in chapter five, the magnitude of youth unemployment has not declined. The reason for this tendency lies in the basic structural inequalities, which exacerbate the disparities and contradictions between the rural and urban areas.

On the second point, an historical perspective is, as always, essential. The largely agricultural orientation of African economies is the result of the historical penetration of capitalism into these economies, with its attendant distortions and inequalities. To pursue an educational strategy based on this distorted reality, by introducing a largely agricultural-oriented labour practice into schools, is to reinforce such distortions. It cannot, therefore, be a means of transcending them.

Attempts to change a basically agricultural, export-oriented economy with strong dependency links to the metropole, into a socialist-economy, are not facilitated by an educational orientation designed to produce more fodder to perpetuate this distorted reality.

Developing countries like Zimbabwe should be seeking to lay the educational basis for the sustained technological scientific growth necessary for industrialization and a transition to the intended socialism. Such developments, by definition, cannot be envisaged in isolation from fundamental structural changes in the economy. Attempts to introduce agriculture-related work into the school curriculum (as evidenced in ZIMFEP Schools) without consideration for the broader structural economic problems, conform more to the fixity of current structures, than to a program for change.

Agriculture is vital to all developing countries. However, an understanding and appreciation of agriculture in developing countries should be reviewed within a broader forward-looking strategy. In educational terms, this means the establishment of a technical/scientific basis which will facilitate the broadening of the economies of developing countries beyond the narrow dependence on agriculture. Whatever agricultural work is implemented in schools should therefore seek to enhance the scientific basis for moving beyond a predominantly agriculture based economy. If "Education with Production" is to have a meaningful development perspective in Zimbabwe, the arguments made in the preceding pages suggest some of the fundamental concerns which should be seriously considered.

The time is long past to move behind the quick-sand strategies of liberal orthodoxies, and romantic notions of development, which have failed to break the dependency of developing countries. Similarly the alternative is not to be found in a "defensive radicalism" which while flaunting radical terminology, is more critical of capitalist excesses than supportive of constructive proposals for a transition to socialism. A sine-qua-non for socialist development is the establishment of a sound technical/scientific basis throughout Zimbabwe's education and training system. As this type of education seems to have potential for providing necessary skills for employment. An education system with a technical/scientific basis can also make provision for school leavers to create their own employment. Such a basis must be well coordinated with linkages and bridges throughout the education system, so that the technical/scientific curricula in schools is coordinated with the needs of post-secondary vocational/technical training, for example (Miss, (magazine) editorial, Vol.3 No.1, 1983).

Often in Africa, the exigencies of immediate problems have tended to over-ride the need for a long term strategy. In many cases, this has led to a misunderstanding of the conditions in which these problems pertain. As Clive Thomas has critically observed:

> --The tendency among urban-based planners--and some elements of the petty bourgeoisie to romanticize the virtues of poverty and/or to

> over-estimate the qualities of rural life as it stands has been of inestimable importance. These are not sufficiently seen and understood as malformations of human existence--the very factors which call forth socialism in theory and practice in the first place.

Thus, any educational strategy in Zimbabwe which fails to situate itself within the context of broader radical changes in the economy, will in all probability proceed no further than cosmetic palliative changes. In such a situation, education and training will continue to serve the capitalist machinery, with all the wastage, elitism and misallocation that result from such servitude.

From this study, it perhaps can be therefore rightly concluded that education cannot be considered in a vacuum. In any country, the education system is intricately linked to the wider society and it ought to be evaluated in relation to that society.

C. RECOMMENDATIONS

An attempt has also been made in this study to show that a basic assumption about education and its link with development strategies was its role in creating a skilled and viable workforce. We have already seen how both human capital and modernization theories contended that a more educated population is more productive and would have the attitudes and behaviour required for a sustained modern industrialized economy, which was assumed to be the goal of most development strategies. Although there was considerable research evidence in the 1960s and early

1970s, to support these assumptions, the world economy and the economies of individual countries by the middle 1970s were such that this aspect of education and development was no longer tenable (Psacharapoulous, 1973). What development planners had overlooked was the strength of economic ties binding nations together, and concurrently educational planners had failed to recognize the inflexibility of educational systems to quickly adapt to changing social and economic needs within countries.

There were many factors which brought about the world economic recession of the 1970s. One of these, of course, was the increasing costs of fuel and energy. Another, however, was the increasing competition for the sale of certain manufactured products which began to be produced both in developed and developing nations. While production costs soared and economic expansion levelled off, the rapid increase of participation in educational systems in most countries continued to produce larger numbers of skilled and qualified manpower and, as a result, the number of educated unemployed is increasing. Between 1960 and 1970, unemployment rose at a world-wide level at a rate of about 2% per year and is estimated to rise at a rate of 2.7% until the year 2000 (World Bank, 1980a:42). In other words, the problem of youth unemployment is a universal problem and Africa has been hit hard because the economy as a whole has become marginalized. Even if as mentioned in Chapter Four, Zimbabwe has the largest and most sophisticated industrial base in Sub-Saharan Africa, on the whole, Africa's economy has been declining. So, in view of this argument, educational expansion alone cannot be the cause of youth unemployment.

In addition to the general problem of unemployment, there also arose considerable skepticism about the relevance of schooling for specific kinds of work, and more particularly, about the tendency to use educational credentials as a screening device for job recruitment and selection (Berg, 1971; Dore, 1976; Foster, 1965). Critiques of relevance of schooling for employment have occurred both in the developed and developing countries. Credentialism, sometimes called the "diploma disease" (Dore, 1976), has been recognized as a world-wide phenomenon (Collin, 1979). And finally, in some developing countries, and Zimbabwe is no exception, it has been argued that schooling has trained students for the wrong kinds of jobs and created a workforce inappropriate to the demands of a Third World Labour market.

Studies have also shown that schooling raises levels of aspirations for post-school careers and jobs. Consistent with modernization theory, there is evidence that schools have direct influence on levels of aspirations and expectations among students. These aspirations appear to be higher for disadvantaged groups in developing countries (Saha, 1982). Furthermore, some have argued that these aspirations are inconsistent with opportunities in, and the needs of, the labour market (Husen, 1977; Little, 1978), while others contend that the unemployment crisis may be a capitalist structural phenomenon rather than an educationally related one (Blaug, 1980; Carnoy, 1980). Irrespective of its source, the disjunction between level of educational attainment, levels of aspirations, and job opportunities have been regarded with concern by some who contend that disruptive social and psychological consequences, both for individuals and societies, might result. Therefore, it could be argued that insofar as schooling raises ambitions to levels inconsistent with labour market opportunities, its contribution to this aspect of economic development is doubtful.

Clearly, in certain circumstances, schooling can produce a workforce with needed skills. However, schools are not the only way in which these skills can be acquired, and sometimes schools can be the least appropriate way of acquiring them. Furthermore, the employment crisis in many developed and developing countries probably would exist irrespective of whatever skills were taught in the classroom. For example, it has been noted that in Zimbabwe, employers blamed lack of foreign currency and lack of industrial expansion as factors that cause unemployment. In these circumstances educational expansion will not in any way solve the employment crisis. Nevertheless, it is clear that much of the cynicism which has emerged about the role of education in economic development has been due to the perceived breakdown in the relationship between schools and the workplace. At least until recently, there was a direct relationship between years of schooling and occupational attainment. With educational expansion, however, this relationship is no longer a certain one, for the number of educated individuals has outstripped the abilities of the economies to absorb them. As consistently mentioned in this study, large numbers of educated unemployed are one of the major problems facing the less-developed countries today. In a study of seven countries, four of which were less developed, Little (1978) concluded that the proportion of males and females who aspired to white collar jobs far exceeded the proportion of the economically active population who actually engaged in those jobs. Thus, unless the economic structures themselves were to expand, there would be little likelihood that these aspirations could be fulfilled. Consistent with Little's observations, it has been estimated that from the year 1970 to about the year 2000, the rate of unemployment will increase at the rate of 2.7% a year (World Bank, 1980a:42).

It was noted that the increasing number of educated unemployed youth in less developed countries gives rise to the question of the contribution that education can make to economic growth at the societal level and to individual job prospects at the individual level. It has been contended that there have been numerous efforts to argue that education, particularly in its transported Western form, has ill-served the manpower needs of many less-developed countries. Anosike (1977) for example, has claimed that in Nigeria, there has been the "paradox" of a high and worsening rate of unemployment along with a shortage of workers in the particular skills. In other words, Nigeria, like many of the other Third World countries, has made great strides in educational expansion, but of the wrong kind.

The existence of unemployment tends to increase the demand for schooling by the school age population. The study has also noted that unemployment is concentrated more among the young people than on the older workers.

An attempt was made to show that in Zimbabwe, mass education serves important political purposes. The government, in order to prove its legitimacy about creating a more egalitarian society, saw it fit to expand education. Educational expansion, some have argued, reflects growing consensus at a global level concerning development goals, political needs, notion of human progress and the importance of national economic success (Meyer, et al, 1977).

An attempt was made in the preceding sections of this chapter to summarize the main findings of the study and then to outline the conclusions that can be drawn from the findings as well as general conclusions from the study as well as a whole. It now becomes important to look at the possible solutions to the problem of youth unemployment.

1. Recommendations for Zimbabwe's Massive Youth Unemployment Crisis

So far, the study has attempted to examine the extent of youth unemployment problem; the causes and effects of the problem and its relation to the education expansion.

The primary aim of this section then is to contribute towards the resolution of enormous critical and difficult national problem of youth unemployment. Specifically the four year secondary school leaver will be discussed. An attempt will also be made to examine Zimbabwe's small but dynamic entrepreneurs and how they can help alleviate the problem of unemployment. From these, the study will look at the possibilities of short term, medium term, and long term employment-creating capacities of the formal, informal and rural sectors of Zimbabwe's economy and of small-scale enterprises. Simultaneously, the study will discuss possible roles that the government, parastatals, local authorities, the private sector and non-goverrmental agencies can play independently and/or jointly.

(a) The School Leaver Unemployment Problem

Up until the introduction of the concept of education with production,(still in its infancy) secondary education in Zimbabwe has been directed to higher/post secondary education with very little concern for school-leavers with the result that so many young people leave secondary schools with virtually no skills to offer to an employer or to self-employ themselves. This resulted in, as Dorsey (1975:163) discovered, many of the school-leavers (53.8%) being unemployed.

Gayfer (1974) in her description of secondary education in Canada states:

> To provide for different needs and abilities secondary (or "high") schools offer a variety of academic and vocational programs. Some large centres have specialized technical or vocational secondary schools, or two-year occupational schools, but on the whole most secondary schools are composite in nature offering a wide range of academic, business and technical courses. Graduation can take a student to employment, University, a trade school or to a non-university education institution.

Many developed countries have discovered that if education is organized comprehensively it facilitates the use of school-leavers. So, secondary education is not directed only towards the preparation of university entrants, at the expense of the rest of the school-leavers, but covers varied interests within the school.

To combat the problem of school-leaver unemployment in Zimbabwe, Chikombah, C.E.M. 1983, suggested that three things be done:

(1) make formal secondary education more relevant;

(2) introduce technical and vocational programmes in secondary schools; and,

(3) strengthen out-of-school education.

(b) Make Formal Secondary Education More Relevant

Callaway (1971) discovered that a solution to the problem of unemployed educated youth that is often put forward is to restrain the rate of expansion of educational opportunities. The reasoning behind this suggestion is that, if more and more school-leavers are migrating to the cities and towns and remain unemployed, then facilities, particularly for secondary education should be cut back or at least not expanded to match the growing secondary school-age population. The money saved by not investing in secondary education can then be used for general economic development.

This sounds a logical and compelling viewpoint, but it can not be endured in the Zimbabwe climate of today. Suspending the expansion of secondary education would lead to a revitalization of the notorious elitist and colonial bottle-neck without the provision of job opportunities for primary school-leavers, thereby increasing the numbers of the unemployed and encouraging cheap labour prospects. As Poignant (1967) points out, economic expansion and the resulting rise in family living standards create new material and psychological conditions which favour the expansion of secondary education. This is the case in Zimbabwe. During the colonial period, Zimbabweans were led to believe that academic education solves economic and social problems. To halt secondary education expansion before changing the attitude of the population would have unacceptable political consequences.

Perhaps the solution is the radicalization of curriculum reforms to relate schools more closely to community and national life. In Zimbabwe, in most subject areas, subject-content has been designed with a foreign country flavour that is very different in its cultural and economic background. Not only that, it is, in many cases, drastically out of date. This type of education, as has been argued by Rowley (1971) has been, over the years, preparing people for clerical work in the colonial type of economy which mainly demanded minor clerical and trade skills.

Central to the above suggestion is the necessity to merge the skills derived from classroom experience with the realities of the economy. The other issue is whether the utility of many secondary school-leavers would be heightened if more of them were qualified in scientific skills rather than being prepared solely through an academic programme geared for university entrance. The point related to the above issue is the concept of 'vocationalization' of schools as discussed in chapter five.

One serious concern about vocationalizing education is that the school-leaver may have little chance to use his/her new skills, and that the skills he/she has acquired may not be adequate or practical enough for him/her to apply them usefully. In other words, much still needs to be done to make vocationalization of education strong enough to give adequate and employable skills to the school leaver.

Related to the concept of making formal secondary education more relevant is the idea of 'out-of-school education which is discussed below.

(c) Out-of-school Education

Out-of-school education here refers to learning outside schools and universities. This is the education which can or cannot be related to the classroom education. This can in today's terminology, be functional education.

The learning activities can include programmes of literacy for young people who have had little or no formal schooling; apprenticeships and other forms of on-the-job training, extension programmes to assist youth involved in farming or within small-scale industries, and a wide range of educative services designed to improvement/development.

A good example of an out-of-school education programme in Zimbabwe is Teaching in Rural Areas (TRA) organized jointly by the Students Union, the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Faculty of Education at the University of Zimbabwe. These students, while pursuing their academic interests, are introduced to the teaching profession. If in future they decide to go into teaching after their university, this exposure would be of great assistance to their understanding of the complexities of the teaching profession. This can also be done in the areas of agriculture, business and technology. Secondary school students can organize themselves into clubs directed toward skill's improvement in different areas of the economy. In Zimbabwe, clubs have been generally organized for school drop-outs only. The inclusion of students and the strengthening of the out-of-school education will facilitate the adequate use of school-leavers.

2. Human Resource Wastage and Possible Solutions

In the development of the new Zimbabwe, one of the most critical components for success is harnessing the vast reservoir of its human resources to the development task. Unless this is done, Zimbabwe will be squandering her most valuable single resource and placing herself on the degenerative path now characteristic of many nations in both the "North" and the "South." One of the mocking paradoxes of today is that, in a period of increasing pressure on resources, one of the most important, that is, human skills, is under-utilized. Thus unemployment and underemployment characterize not only the urban ghettos and regions of depressed economic growth in Europe and North America, they are also prominent features of the social and economic scene in the countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia. The unemployed in these areas are usually those in whom society has invested very little in the way of appropriate training for employment (Marshall & Hurell, 1983).

In light of this, the Government of Zimbabwe has embarked on a massive national programme to develop the exploitation of its natural resources, to distribute their benefits on an equitable basis and to ensure that all its citizens have the opportunity to contribute their talents to the process of socialistic change. Integrated and coordinated by the Ministry of Manpower Planing and Development, critical components of the process are:

(1) expansion and rationalization of the employment

structures of the country in line with the socialist ideals of the society;

(2) the development of an educational and training system responsible to the demands of these structures; and

(3) proper selection and placement, ensuring an adequate "fit" between talent, inclination and work.

It is with aspects of this third component that this section is concerned.

(a) Education Lag

None of the social and economic transformations implied above can be achieved overnight. It is also true that some structures change much slower than others; this is particularly true of education. The post independence era has brought about a noticeable and very rapid change in the opportunity pattern for the majority of recent school leavers in Zimbabwe who are presently, or will be in the near future, seeking rewarding positions of employment. In direct contrast to the increase in accessibility to primary and secondary education, however, the growth of training opportunities for the recent job seeker has been slow in comparison. Young people having left school since 1980, or just prior to this date have found themselves in the ironic position of having a far wider choice of job opportunities than did their predecessors but also find themselves unable to apply for the position of their choice as they lack the educational qualifications required.

The principal cause of this dissonance between opportunity and preparation is directly attributable to the educational and employment contexts of the pre-independence era. These structures were racially discriminatory and exploitative, designed to provide an efficient black labour force in selected categories and to maintain white control throughout the various occupational hierarchies of the country. Constrained by this context and lacking any viable alternative "success models" across a broad range of occupation categories, many black school children (and their teachers) were pushed into a syndrome of restricted occupational expectations which, together with the limited range of training available, attenuated the educational base on which they now stand.

The same children, now school leavers, often find themselves without the base-line qualification of the new occupational aspirations which Zimbabwe's expanded employment structures currently encourage. Despite the white-collar syndrome discussed earlier, it may seem probable that constantly frustrated in their efforts to find positions which fit their ambitions and potential, their aspirations may have to be abandoned and become secondary to more immediate imperatives. Instead of having the freedom of choice to follow a career goal, the job seeker without the necessary education qualification is eventually forced to recognize the economic realities of survival, and being in no position to choose, may then have to take any position offered to satisfy the urgent needs of food, shelter and clothing. The large number of young school leavers in communal farming are probably evidence that this phenomenon is already occurring.

It can then be rightly argued that the school leavers caught in this 'educational lag' have to face a number of difficulties which could eventually result in serious problems ultimately affecting the economy of the country. An employee forced to accept a position through imposed circumstances is very rarely a contented worker. The opportunity of receiving in-service training is also likely to be closed to those who lack education as most of the positions which offer this type of training require the very qualification they lack. Possible solutions to the problem of human resource wastage are examined in the next section of this chapter.

(b) Temporary Expedients

One approach to this situation of human resource wastage and under-utilization is to provide retraining facilities for these victims of "educational lag", an enterprise in which Government is now engaged through the Ministry of Technical and Higher Education and other agencies. Another is to place less emphasis on "paper" certification and devise methods of assessment to determine capabilities rather than educational attainment. Placement is then made on the basis of such tests. Until the time is reached when the legacy of the "educational lag" is overcome due consideration should be given to this technique of solving the employment problems of the current batch of school leavers.

(c) Towards More Effective Vocational Guidance and Placement

The measures above are however largely of a temporary nature. More important in the long-term is the development of a system which commences the vocational guidance process at an early stage in the child's formal educational experience, and certainly before critical decisions are made by parents and children on the choice of subjects taken at Z.C.E. and O-Level stages. It is suggested that the following three approaches are deserving of careful consideration and elaboration.

(d) Information Dissemination on Careers

This section of the chapter has already mentioned the limited aspirational syndrome which has afflicted many of Zimbabwe's youths, simply because they are not properly aware of the occupational opportunities (though limited) which life in the new Zimbabwe now presents them. It is therefore essential that school children at an early age be made fully aware of the opportunity spectrum which is now becoming available. More material on this subject should be readily available in the schools, at both the primary and secondary levels. The education of the teachers themselves is particularly important in this regard, and school staffs should accept that vocational guidance is part of the educational process itself, not simply an adjunct to it.

(e) Service Vocation

The issue of unrealistic aspirations on the part of those not properly endowed is a vexed problem. The fact remains that although Zimbabwe has limited but varied employment opportunities, not all are high status or lucrative positions. An important vocational function of the schools is therefore to inculcate ideals which exhort the values of manual, technical and agricultural vocations, in line with the country's socialist perspectives. The newly introduced "Education for Living" program in high schools is meeting a need in this area but more has to be done throughout the school curricula to encourage pupils to appreciate the benefits of the program in as far as its potential for job creation is concerned.

(f) Study-Work Programmes

A major concern to employers is that often students lack knowledge of what the 'World of Work' entails. Often they have no idea of what a particular type of job involves; what is required during an interview; why they are offered a given salary; where a certain job can lead to or the kind of in-service training offered and how this can prove to be a valuable asset in the development of their careers. One reason for this lack of insight is the fact that the teachers who offer vocational guidance have themselves often had no experience of work outside an educational institution; coming from a school environment to a university or a college and then returning to the school once more. Teachers themselves are often aware of this fact and would readily accept advice to overcome the problem.

One possible solution could be to introduce the students to the "world of work". Industrial companies, agriculturalists, and in fact all sectors of the economy can be encouraged to employ pupils who show a genuine interest in a particular field of work, visiting the workplace during their school vacation for a period of two or three weeks. During this time the pupil is able to observe for himself, and take an active part in activities, giving him an understanding of what the work entails. This places the pupil in a more informed position allowing him to make a knowledgeable choice on future career plans. The appropriate course of action can then be taken to pursue this career. It would also allow a pupil to reach the conclusion that this kind of job is not suited to him and he can therefore make the necessary adjustments in school subjects before it is too late to change direction.

Such a scheme would have its problems and would require the close cooperation of employers. But in the new Zimbabwe, the time has come for employers in both private and public sectors to accept that they have a role to play in the educational exercise, and in the vocational guidance aspects of that process. The resultant increased cooperation between teachers and manager will then help to bridge the gap between the classroom and the workplace.

— This section has been directed specifically at the problem of school-leavers and changes which may ease the problem of school leaver unemployment. The discussion emphasized the introduction of technical and vocational programmes in the secondary school curriculum, the strengthening of out-of-school education, aptitude testing, career guidance and counselling and study-work programmes.

The following section tries to look at the unemployment problems in general, that is, various ways that can be considered in order to solve the unemployment problem.

D. SOLVING THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM IN ZIMBABWE

In the current debate as far as solving the job puzzle is concerned, two major schools of thought can be identified. One calls for massive and rapid industrialization, while the other wants development of the rural areas and the informal sector. Both have their merits and drawbacks and neither can be neglected.

The 'industrializers' are in favour of a clear policy with a positive and liberal investment code, as found in countries like Taiwan, Singapore, Ivory Coast, Botswana and now Mozambique. Such a policy would include a generous allocation of foreign currency to investors, allowance of repatriation of profits and relaxation of labour laws.

Its advocates believe that only massive investment of foreign and domestic capital in the modern sector for new ventures and expansion of existing ones can lead to rapid economic growth and job creation. They tend to perceive the traditional rural economy as a vestige of the old primitive African past and the informal sector as a mere symptom of the failure of the modern sector. They treat both as temporary evils (Chanaiwa, 1989).

Paradoxically, however, the economic models of the modern sector that have led to our present state of development are among the obstacles to solving the unemployment problem. By itself the modern sector of Zimbabwe is too small and weak to absorb the enormous numbers of job-seekers. The modern sector suffers from a severe shortage of foreign currency and therefore of raw materials, machines, equipment and spare parts.

Most enterprises are operating at 20% to 40% below capacity, and many are struggling to stay alive and protect existing jobs, often redeploying technical employees to less skilled work (Employers Confederation of Zimbabwe, 1989). A massive injection of foreign currency into the modern sector would revitalize it and allow it to use its existing workers, fully, without necessarily creating new jobs. It would bring more foreign ownership, technology and personnel into Zimbabwe at a time when they should be reduced. Besides, foreign investment tends to concentrate on producing raw materials, tobacco, fruit, flowers, tea, coffee and so forth for export to America, Europe and Asia, whose exports in turn create a dependence on world prices.

What this suggests then is that there is an urgent need to allocate more foreign currency to the modern sector to keep enterprises viable, to protect existing jobs and to venture into new activities that can show real potential for creating new jobs.

Much more questionable are the modern sector's monopoly aspects and the patronizing contempt its champions show for the rural and informal sectors.

The other main school of thought argues not only that the rural and informal sectors employ the majority of the work force but that:

(a) they are here to stay permanently;

(b) they require much less capital and machines to create jobs;

(c) they consist of local Zimbabweans who require very little foreign currency, and they spend and invest their profits in Zimbabwean dollars;

(d) they use labour intensive methods of production which maximize job creation;

(e) they use appropriate technology and promote import-substitution of foreign goods and services; and

(f) they are useful and effective for the decentralization and diversification of the economy into rural areas and, especially, growth points.

The above may sound an impressive list of pluses, but they are minuses as well which will be examined later in this chapter.

So much for the two main current schools of thought. A look at other alternatives that have the capacity to create employment is important. Sandwiched in between the big-time modern sector of multinationals and large local companies and the very small rural and informal operators are the small-scale manufacturers, miners, farmers, traders, artisans and contractors of Zimbabwe, whose employment-creating capacity has not yet been fully recognized and utilized.

(1) Small Scale Enterprises and Entrepreneurship Development

By definition small scale enterprises consist of individual-, family-, cooperative-, or partnership-owned businesses in the manufacturing, trading, transport, farming, construction and crafts industries. Small-scale entrepreneurs are the major clients of public and private service organizations such as Small Enterprises Development Cooperation (SEDCO), Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) VOICE, and Zimbabwe Education for Production (ZIMFEP). Their small businesses usually have a capital value of less than Z$1,000,000, and they employ from one to about one hundred workers each. In Zimbabwe 70% of the total of about 14,000 employers are small-scale entrepreneurs and together they employ about 45% of the estimated 1,120,000 modern sector labour force. The majority of them employ between ten to fifty workers each. Thus, the average Zimbabwean employer really is a small-scale entrepreneur, whose employment creating capacity has not yet been fully recognized and utilized.

For the purpose of this study, entrepreneurship is defined as the personal quality which enables individuals, families, cooperatives or partnerships to start new businesses, to expand existing businesses, and to manage businesses effectively and profitably. Entrepreneurs are men and women who innovate by conceiving the ideas of business, by designing the organization and functions of enterprises, by accumulating capital, recruiting labour, establishing effective relations with suppliers, customers and authorities, and by converting dreams into actions and results. Characteristically, they are self-disciplined, resilient, hardworking, courageous and optimistic.

The intention is to deliberately avoid the polemic tendency of labelling them as socialist or capitalist, on the grounds that there is need for entrepreneurship in any ideology, society or enterprise involving individuals, families, cooperatives and even governments. The original socialist societies of Soviet Union and China are themselves attempting to inject entrepreneurship into their economy and bureaucracy. The country needs to capitalize on the energy and resourcefulness of its local entrepreneurs by removing the obstacles and introducing incentives for investment and employment creation. Small-scale entrepreneurs generally are quite receptive to risk-taking, new projects and new technologies.

Unlike multinational and big companies, small-scale enterprises require less foreign currency and they spend or re-invest their profits in the country and in Zimbabwean dollars. Like rural and informal sectors, they require less capital to create jobs and they can be used to decentralize the economy. They use less machinery and more labour-intensive methods of production. They employ fewer expatriates and are more conducive to utilizing local appropriate technologies than the major modern sector companies. They are responsible to the domestic market in terms of the production and supply of goods and services. Unlike the rural and informal sectors, they pay taxes and license fees, and are governed by labour laws. In summary, small-scale entrepreneurs first create self-employment for themselves and their families, usually out of their own initiatives. Then as they grow, they provide gainful employment for fellow Zimbabweans even if sometimes the jobs tend to require low skills and low wages.

Furthermore, world-wide trends and statistics on employment creation in the past decade tend to argue for the small-scale entrepreneurs. Other countries like the United States, Canada, the Scandinavian countries, India and China, which have registered significant employment creation, have done so through the creation and expansion of Small-scale enterprises and not through big companies (Chanaiwa, 1989). The demand areas for employment creation world-wide has been in commercial services. The sheer weight of rapid population growth and migration to urban areas has generated tremendous demand for more small-scale services in areas such as hotel and catering, transportation, tailoring, child care and repairs. The traditional big and multinational companies have assisted in employment creation mainly through sub-contracting to, on-the-job training of and extension services to small-scale entrepreneurs.

It appears that, in terms of employment creation, small-scale enterprises and entrepreneurs in the modern sector would offer the greatest potential for meaningful employment creation for both self-and paid-employment. Small scale enterprises offer the same employment creating potential as the rural and informal sector, and resolve most of the basic problems of the major modern sector as well as the rural and informal sectors. The Government and society would reap full benefits from their investment of capital, credit facilities, infrastructure, training and extension services for small-scale enterprises and create concrete jobs for the unemployed.

For example, in terms of employment creation, there is need for two types of land settlement schemes. The current Resettlement Programme for the landless and displaced peasants and even retrenched workers should continue. The programme resolves landlessness and rural poverty and can provide livelihood for retired or retrenched workers. But there should be another land settlement programme for commercial agricultural entrepreneurs out of the graduates of the agricultural colleges such as Gwebi, Mlezu, Chibero, Domboshawa, Kushinga and non-governmental agricultural institutions.

These highly trained agriculturalists provide the nation with a rich resource of commercial entrepreneurship in all aspects of agriculture. With state assistance of land, AFC loans, managerial training, etc., and although there is no lack of jobs for these graduates, those who choose to be entrepreneurs can easily and successfully create self-employment for themselves and their families and effectively create gainful employment for many other Zimbabweans. Training of more agriculturalists will be beneficial in the sense that they have great potential to create employment. These initially small-scale farmers undoubtedly will grow into big commercial farmers and thereby guarantee the future of commercial farming and bumper harvest in Zimbabwe, when the current generation of predominantly white commercial farmers retires.

Given the previous analysis of the school of thought regarding how to solve the unemployment problem, it becomes appropriate to now move on to the short term; medium term and long term solutions to the problem.

(2) Short Term Solutions

Undoubtedly, short-term solutions by themselves can not solve the problem of unemployment. They are a drop in the ocean. Nevertheless, it is quite unrealistic to expect and, therefore, wait for miracles to rapid economic growth and employment creation within a short time, even with massive investment. It, therefore, is necessary to think of employment creation under conditions of slow economy growth and of current constraints. Consequently, everything that can create a productive job for a fellow Zimbabwean should be undertaken.

First and foremost, inflation, and high cost of living in Zimbabwe have necessitated the need for two incomes and two jobs. But one income or one job still is much better than total unemployment. For the sake of employment creation there should be some restrictions on multiple incomes through multiple jobs and/or directorships and trusteeships. There also should be restrictions on the random use of overtime. The hours and days that are treated as overtime can be combined into full-time or at least part-time jobs for the totally unemployed. Furthermore, employment councils and boards could negotiate for shorter hours or days of work wherever it is economically feasible and turn the savings into extra jobs.

Secondly, Zimbabwe has to take a serious look at the current nation-wide vacancy rate of about 5% of budgeted posts in all sectors and all employee categories. Practically, an unfilled post is a job that is denied to a totally unemployed fellow Zimbabwean. Every effort should be made to fill vacancies quickly and to penalize those who prolong vacancies due to either bureaucratic slowness and inefficiency or to tribalism, regionalism, racism or sexism. The country should also review its definitions of and demands for job experience. Instead of denying a fellow Zimbabwean a job for lack of experience and look for an "experienced" expatriate, a Zimbabwean should be given a chance to gain the experience. After all, someone in the expatriate's country had to be kind enough to give him/her the opportunity to gain the experience for which Zimbabwe is paying dearly.

(3) Medium-term Solutions

The following solutions have been called medium-term because their necessary legal, administrative and institutional framework already exist. What is needed is to strengthen the structures and to intensify the activities. One of these solutions would be the implementation of the much-talked-about modification of the educational system from its current predominantly academic and elitist orientation to introduction of technical, commercial, and productive skills at the secondary school level as discussed earlier.

As discussed in chapter four, the most common problem facing all school leavers today is their lack of marketable, employable skills and/or work experience, especially when they have to compete for fewer jobs with retrenched but experienced adults. In addition, the educational system tends to idealize white collar office or managerial jobs and to look down upon manual work, especially when the jobs are in the rural or informal sectors. The average school leaver, is a disadvantaged job-seeker in terms of employable skills, job experience and attitude. The most disadvantaged school leavers are those who left school at Grade 7, Form II and Form IV.

There is need to correct these disadvantages through education by instilling positive, realistic and practical attitudes towards manual work, self-employment, rural life and the informal sector, as well as towards hard work and thriftiness. There is also need to expand, not so much the secondary schools and universities, but vocational and technical schools, since

Zimbabwe has an over-supply of unskilled job seekers.

The demand for critical technical skills, for electrical and electronic engineers, aircraft engineers, medical technicians, veterinarians, architects, accountants, financial controllers and production managers far outstrips the supply. The vacancy rate for these jobs is about 20% of the budgeted posts (Ministry of Industry and Technology (1989)). Zimbabwe has had to depend very heavily on expatriates in all sectors of her economy and at the university of Zimbabwe and technical colleges. The country can only retrieve these jobs from expatriates if and after it trains its own people in modern high technology.

Hence, there is need for maximum utilization of technical and vocational training facilities throughout the country. The current total student enrollment in public technical colleges and vocational school of around 20,000 is too small for the school leavers population (Central Statistical Office, 1989). The success of the proposed investment thrust by both foreigners and local Zimbabweans will depend largely on the country's capacity to supply the necessary manpower requirements in the critical shortage areas.

(4) Long-term Solutions

An attempt will be made here to investigate long-term solutions which undoubtedly are more difficult, if not controversial, because they require important employment policy decisions; effective tripartite consultation and cooperation among the Government, employers and workers; and effective machinery for designing, implementing and evaluating the employment creation programmes.

As stated in The Promotion of Investment: Policy and Procedures, the Government is committed to rapid economic growth, full employment, price stability, efficiency in resource allocation and equitable distribution of benefits. It has adopted a new emphasis on investments in manufacturing, agro-industries, rural and regional development, communications, energy and water resources and mining, but not in commercial farming and service sectors.

As stated in The Promotion of Investment, the Government objectives which, in turn, define the investment conditions and project guidelines are:

(a) To bring substantial socio-economic benefits to the rural areas.

(b) Enable the transfer of advanced technology and provide training opportunities for Zimbabweans.

(c) Generate substantial employment opportunities.

d) Achieve balance of payments benefits through the production of new exports or by import substitution.

(e) Make more intensive use of local raw materials and processed inputs.

(f) Use labour intensive technology, in particular technology that is easily adaptable to Zimbabwe's needs.

(g) increase productivity and improve the end-product by the injections of additional foreign capital or technology, or involve substantial research and development expenditures.

Certainly, these are great and noble objectives and they genuinely reflect the Government's concern for employment creation. It is also agreed that they are not at all a negation of socialism but only greater recognition of the role of market forces and the need for economic efficiency and professional management. They do not reflect laissez faire free market economy or monopolist capitalism, as detractors may claim, but an attempt at a shrewd, flexible and pragmatic use of state intervention to accelerate economic growth, while creating employment, satisfying basic needs and providing high levels of services.

Given the twin problems of Zimbabwe's very small domestic market and high unemployment, the logical strategy is that of industrialization and infrastructure-building using labour-intensive methods of manufacturing for export. This strategy could lead to the establishment of a solid manufacturing base and create jobs in Zimbabwe. Thus, employment creation has to be production-oriented, export-oriented and profit-oriented, if we are to achieve simultaneously both economic growth and employment creation objectives. Basically, The Promotion of Investment is espousing some of the historical industrialization and employment creation strategies that have been used by newly industrializing countries.

The proponents of these strategies feel that what the country needs is a clear policy that defines a positive and liberal investment code similar to the ones in Taiwan, Singapore, Ivory Coast, Botswana, and now in Mozambique. Among the proposed characteristics of the code would be a generous allocation of foreign currency to present to would-be investors; expatriation in foreign currency of profits and dividends for investors and shareholders; and relaxation of labour laws and regulations.

The proponents believe that only massive investment of foreign and domestic capital in the modern sector for new areas and new economic activities and for expansion of existing enterprises can lead to rapid economic growth, expansion and, therefore, new jobs. The more the investment, the more the jobs.

With proper choices and incentives, the modern sector certainly can create many jobs through new economic activities, greater expansion of existing activities; high levels of subcontracting to small-scale entrepreneurs and increased export of high technology and high quality, products derived from local raw materials.

Undoubtedly, there will be need for approval of investment projects without or with less employment creating capacity in order to generate economic growth per se and infrastructure-building. But, the Investment Committee clearly should investigate and maximize the employment creating capacity of each investment project. It would be self-defeating and counter-productive to approve a project on an erroneous assumption or miscalculation that it would lead to the creation of jobs. For The Promotion of Investment to be successful, members of the Investment Committee ought to be knowledgeable and cognizant of both the industrialization and employment creation objectives and strategies.

(5) Communal and Informal Sectors

Proponents of the industrialization strategy tend to perceive the traditional rural economy as a vestige of the old primitive African past and the informal sector of mere symptom of the weakness and failure of the modern sector. Consequently, they treat the rural and informal sectors as necessary evils that are temporary and transitory. They believe that with more industrialization of the modern sector both the rural and informal sectors shall die natural deaths through the trickle-down effects of more jobs, more goods and services and more training.

Employers Confederation of Zimbabwe (EMCOZ), (1989) estimated that close to 35% to 40% of the economically active labour force in Zimbabwe is engaged in individual, family or cooperative self-employment in communal lands or settlement areas. Another 25% to 30% make their living from informal sector activities as carpenters, brickmakers, weavers, emergency taxi drivers, etc. These informal sector people are self-motivated, self-employed individuals who utilize their own resourcefulness to generate employment and incomes by producing low cost goods and services through labour-intensive and import-substituting techniques.

As mentioned earlier on in this chapter, proponents of employment creation through the rural and informal sectors argue that the two sectors employ the great majority of the Zimbabwean labour force. Nevertheless, rural subsistence farmers and informal sector operators evade taxes and labour laws. According to the results of the Informal Sectors Survey which was carried out in 1983 by the Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, the informal sector participants do not generally pay income and sales taxes, business taxes and license fees. In short, they do not contribute much to public revenues, while they require public expenditure and services to make their personal incomes and profits. In fact, for many of them their incomes and profits primarily consist of what they save from not paying taxes and license fees.

The million dollar economic-political-ethical question, therefore, is whether or not the Government should spend large sums of tax-payers money on creating jobs and improving the personal lives of individuals and families in the rural and informal sectors when the beneficiaries themselves do not contribute to the exchequer. On the other hand, how can the Government demand taxes and license fees from rural and informal people without destroying the employment creating capacity of the two sectors. However, Zimbabwe, by taking cognisance of this sector of the economy and by improving the conditions of work for these people will go a long way towards alleviating the massive youth unemployment crisis.

In conclusion, it is hoped that the recommendations have not only suggested possible solutions of the unemployment problem; but that they may also have highlighted the great need for an unequivocal official employment policy defining Zimbabwe's national objectives, targets, and strategies for employment creation clearly. There is need for effective consultation among and concerted effort by the Government, parastatals, municipalities, for private sector, non-governmental organizations and also communal and informal sector people in formulating and implementing employment -creating programmes. Then the employment policy should permeate all Government economic thinking and planning, and be wholeheartedly accepted and practised by all other economic sectors and interest groups. There is need to remember and evaluate the employment implication of new investment projects, new technologies and new products.

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APPENDICES:

INTERVIEW GUIDES

Please note that the respondents consist of Secretaries and Directors of relevant Ministries, Departments and Organizations in Zimbabwe. Secretaries represent the administrative issues and Directors represent the implementing agents. Therefore, information from the representative of Government policy and their response to the questions asked was used as a supplement to the available documented secondary data.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE A

Interview Guide A was used for collecting data from the following respondents in Zimbabwe who are most familiar with the policy and implementation of the program which is evaluated educational expansion.

1. The Deputy Secretary of Education.

2. The Deputy Secretary for Higher Education.

QUESTIONS

A.1. Why did the government feel it necessary to introduce the educational expansion program in Zimbabwe?

A.2 What achievements have been made?

A.3 If not what hindered or weakened the achievements of these objectives?

A.4 What problems have been created by secondary school expansion?

A.5 Is the passing rate generally better or worse than what was before independence?

A.6 What do you think contributes to the success or failure?

A.7 Are the school leavers able to find employment?

A.8 If yes, are the types of jobs they get suited to their qualifications?

A.9 What do you think are the factors that contribute to unemployment?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE B

Interview Guide B was used for collecting data from the following respondents in Zimbabwe who look after the school leavers in regards to registering them for employment, placing them in jobs and keeping employment statistics.

1. The Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare.
2. The Director - Department of Employment and Employment Development.

QUESTIONS

B.1 Is the unemployment rate increasing or decreasing every year?

B.2 If yes, what are the factors that contribute to increasing unemployment of secondary school leavers?

B.3 Are the school leavers who come to your Department to register for employment looking for jobs in public or private sectors?

B.4 What special qualifications do secondary school graduates need to get employment?

B.5 Is there any difference between the qualifications needed by the private sector and public sector?

B.6 Do you think that the education system produces the right type of personnel for the industry sector?

B.7 Do you think that the increased number of school leavers has worsened the unemployment situation?

B.8 Is there any relationship between educational expansion and youth unemployment? Would you like to elaborate on this point?

B.9 Do you think that career guidance and counselling will help solve the problem of youth unemployment?

B.10 Are the school leavers interested in self-employment projects?

B.11 If yes, what type of projects are they mostly interested in?

B.12 If no, why are they not involved in self-employment (informal sector) activities?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE C

Interview Guide C was used for collecting data from the following respondents who helped in providing information on whether industry is expanding or not and also what type of industry Zimbabwe has.

1. The Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Industry and Technology.

2. The Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development.

QUESTIONS

C.1 In you opinion does the education system produce the right type of personnel for the industry?

C.2 If no, what type of individuals need to be produced if they are to find employment in different sectors of the economy?

C.3 Does the educational expansion program have a relationship to the youth unemployment problem in the country?

C.4 Who are the major owners of industry in Zimbabwe?

C.5 Do the privately owned industries employ school leavers?

C.6 Do the multinational corporations employ school leavers?

C.7 What kinds of jobs do you think Zimbabwe should have that can accommodate the four year secondary school leavers?

C.8 Due to the magnitude of the problem of unemployment, is the Government embarking on any job creation activities?

C.9 If yes, what sort of projects is it embarking on?

C.10 If no projects are being implemented, what are the reasons for this?

C.11 Does your department actively liaise with the Employer's Confederation of Zimbabwe in placing school leavers?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE D

Interview Guide D was used for collecting data from the respondent below who helped in providing information regarding statistics on employment registration for the private sector and also whether industry is expanding fast enough for the growing number of school leavers.

1. The Executive Director - Employers Confederation of Zimbabwe (EMCOZ).

QUESTIONS

D.1 Do you have secondary school leavers coming to register for employment in your organization?

D.2 What sort of jobs are they generally looking for?

D.3 How many do register for employment annually?

D.4 What sort of formal qualifications are needed for one to get employment in the private sector?

D.5 Are industries expanding fast enough for the growing number of school leavers?

D.6 In which areas do school leavers mostly find employment?

D.7 Do you liaise with the Government agencies in as far as job placement for school leavers is concerned?

D.8 If no, why?

D.9 If yes, in what way?

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW GUIDE E

COMMON QUESTIONS

1. Do you think the increased number of secondary school leavers have worsened the problem of youth unemployment?

2. What do you want to see done to ease the problem of youth (four year secondary school) unemployment?